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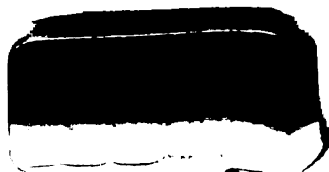
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**THE GARLAND OF SAINT EDMUND
KING AND MARTYR**



THE BIRTH OF S. EDMUND

After Harl. MS., Brit. Mus., 2278

Frontispiece

[illegible]

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COROLLA SANCTI EADMUNDI

**THE GARLAND OF
SAINT EDMUND
KING AND MARTYR**

**EDITED, WITH A PREFACE, BY
LORD FRANCIS HERVEY**

LONDON

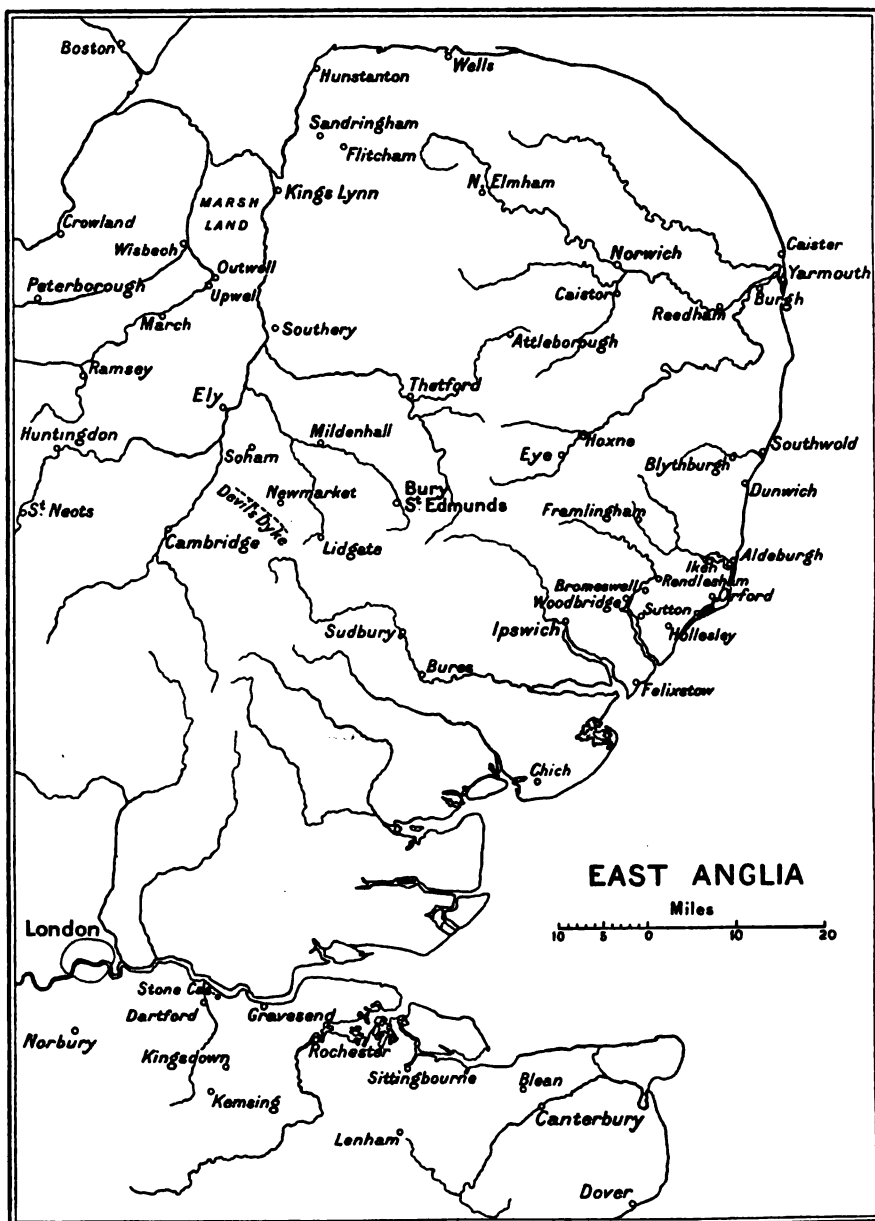
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AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM
ET IN HONOREM
ATHLETAE DOMINI EADMVNDI
MARTYRIS • VIRGINIS • REGIS
NECNON IN MEMORIAM AMICI DESIDERATISSIMI
MARTINI GOSSELIN
EA QVAE SEQVNTVR
QVASI IN COROLLAM CONTEXVIT
LVBENS LVGENS
F. H.



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P R E F A C E

C H A P T E R I

THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF EAST ANGLIA, 655-855

THE obscurity which hangs over the early history of East Anglia grows deeper as the rays that fall from the pages of Bede, whose death is placed in 735, cease to guide our researches. The *English Chronicle* fails us from a still earlier period. From about the middle of the seventh century, that is, from the date of the battle of the Winwæd in 655, when, together with Penda the Mercian, Ethelhere, the king of the East Angles, was routed and slain by Oswiu, to near the close of the eighth century, when in 794 Offa, another king of Mercia, caused the murder of S. Ethelbert, another East Anglian sovereign, and annexed his dominions, not a single entry in the national records makes mention of events specifically concerning the East Anglian realm.

From other sources we collect that, in the interval, the rulers of Central England had detached their Eastern kinsmen from the overlordship of Northumbria which Eadwine had established, and which Oswiu had reasserted after the battle of the Winwæd, as well as from the friendly relations which S. Anna, the renowned sire of many saintly daughters, had formed with the West Saxons. William of Malmesbury makes passing allusion

to the invasion of East Anglia, and the expulsion and defeat of the local chieftains, late in the seventh or early in the eighth century, by Ine, the king of Wessex, who is said to have been moved to the attack by 'hereditary' enmity. This expression it is not easy to interpret otherwise than by recalling the change from the policy of S. Anna in sheltering Cenwealh of Wessex from the vengeance of Penda, to the policy of S. Anna's brother and successor, Ethelhere, in stimulating the Mercians to hostilities against Oswiu. But the success of the Mercians had more than merely negative results. The East Anglians were converted into dependent allies of their Midland neighbours. Authority is perhaps wanting for Mr. Green's assertion that, when Ethelbald led an army against the Welsh,¹ the soldiery of East Anglia, together with the men of Kent and Wessex, was ranged under his banners, but the testimony of Henry of Huntingdon is express that, on a later occasion, in 754, when Ethelbald turned his forces against Wessex, the East Anglians fought at Burford on his side. It is possible that, after Ethelbald's death, during the anarchy that preceded the accession of Offa, the Eastern people may have been nerved to reclaim their independence. But the ascendancy of Offa must have been hard to contest, and, when that prince was able in 787 to bring about the elevation of Lichfield for a time to metropolitan dignity, the dioceses of Dunwich and Elmham were severed from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and made subordinate to the Mercian see. This event took place, it may be presumed, shortly before the death of Ethelred, whose reign in East Anglia immediately preceded that of his son, the ill-fated Ethelbert.

¹ *The Making of England*, p. 394 (1881).

Of Ethelbert the *English Chronicle* notices only the death in a brief sentence, under the year 792 (which should be 794):—

‘In this year Offa, king of the Mercians, commanded the head of King Æthelbryht to be struck off.’

This crime, which the historians of the school of S. Alban’s, the great abbey of Offa’s foundation, strove either to extenuate or to fasten upon his wife, was perpetrated in Herefordshire, and the Cathedral of Hereford attests by its dedication the sanctity and repute of the victim. His memory is preserved by a legend which in a developed form is to be found in the *Speculum Historiale* of Richard of Cirencester. A few of the incidents of the story may be noticed here. The place at which S. Ethelbert, after consultation with his thegns, submitted to his mother Leofrum the design of espousing the daughter of Offa, was Bedericsworth, now Bury S. Edmunds; and it was in the same town that, after the young king’s death, miracles occurred which furnished to his bereaved subjects proof that the perfidious Mercian tyrant, in ridding himself of a possible earthly enemy, had taken the life of a saint of God.

As evidence that the martyr was not unhonoured in his own country, though his body lay far away in the west, while the decollated head was, if we may trust Richard of Cirencester, preserved at Westminster, it may be mentioned that in the will¹ of Theodred, Bishop of London, ascribed to about the middle of

¹ The will is printed in Gage’s *Thingoe Hundred*, from the ‘Register of the Sacrist,’ and in Blomefield’s *Norfolk* from the ‘White Register’ of Bury Abbey. The part of this document material to our present purpose runs as follows: ‘I, Theodred, bishop of the Londoners . . . give the land at Horham and at Ellington to S. Æthelbriht’s church at Hoxne, for God’s servants.’ See Thorpe, *Diplom.*, p. 518.

the tenth century, there occurs a bequest in favour of the clergy ministering in a church dedicated to S. Ethelbert at Hoxne, near Eye, in the county of Suffolk, the very place designated in after years as the scene of the martyrdom and first interment of the more illustrious Edmund. And it is also to be observed that the chronicler, who tells us of the miracles wrought at Bury S. Edmunds by S. Ethelbert, adds, as a memorable circumstance, that this royal town was destined at a later time to be for S. Edmund, his cousin, a dwelling-place during life, as well as a shrine of repose without decay after death.

After the martyrdom of S. Ethelbert, the darkness, that has been described as besetting the history of East Anglia, becomes yet more intense. We may affirm that the territories over which S. Ethelbert had reigned were more or less completely incorporated by Offa with his Mercian dominions, and that the country continued subject to Offa's successors, to his short-lived son Egferth, to Cenulph, and perhaps also to Ceolwulf. But the first quarter of the ninth century was scarcely sped, when Egbert, the founder of a brilliant dynasty, having consolidated the power of Wessex, brought low his Mercian rivals, now subject to the usurper Beornwulf, and made himself master of the south-eastern provinces of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and presumably Middlesex, including London. When this had been accomplished, as we learn from the *English Chronicle*, 'The king of the East Angles, and the nation, sought Eggbryht for peace, and as protector, from dread of the Mercians.' To this Florence of Worcester adds that Egbert assented to the request of the East Angles, and readily engaged to stand by his petitioners to the end (*in omnibus*).

The end soon came. Beornwulf flung against the East Angles an army of revenge. But their king (his name is not recorded) met the invaders, defeated them, and slew the king of the Mercians. Lu-deca, who followed, and endeavoured to avenge, Beornwulf, met with a like fate a year or two later. He was succeeded on the throne of Mercia by Wiglaf, who, in turn, was speedily overthrown by Egbert.

A few sentences in the narratives of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon illustrate the condition of East Anglia during the period of about thirty years which elapsed between the death of S. Ethelbert and the submission of the East Angles to the overlordship of Wessex, and the period of almost equal length which falls between that event and the election of Edmund to be king of East Anglia. 'Few sovereigns,' writes Malmesbury, 'reigned after S. Ethelbert with the substance of power, till the time of S. Edmund, owing to the violence of the Mercians.' This statement may be accepted with confidence, if it is understood to have particular regard to the years 795-825, though it cannot have quite the same force in relation to the later period, when the ascendancy of Wessex over East Anglia was definitely established. To that epoch, on the other hand, must be referred the observation of Huntingdon that 'the kingdom of East Anglia, which had been for a long while dependent in one way or another upon other kingdoms, was now sometimes held in direct governance by the kings of Wessex or Kent, and sometimes was assigned by those kings to a deputy or deputies, so that for a while there would be a single king in that country, and then again there would be a number of kinglets (*reguli*).'

The mention of Kent in the last-quoted passage must, at first sight, cause surprise. Kent, like East Anglia, had been for a long time subject to Mercia. It had suffered the violence, first of Offa, and afterwards of Cenulph, who had placed upon its throne two successive puppet-kings, Cuthred and Baldred. The latter of these was expelled by Egbert when the decisive battle of Ellandune had finally broken the supremacy of Mercia. How, it may be asked, could a king of Kent affect to wear, or to dispose of, the crown of East Anglia? To this question written history seemingly affords no answer, unless exception be made of a passage in Gaimar, in which, describing the repulse by Athelstan, king of Kent, and Ealhhere, a Kentish thegn, of the Danish marauders in the south-east of England towards the end of the reign of Ethelwolf, the poet-chronicler writes (Rolls Series, ll. 2482 *sqq.*):

‘Adelstan estait al rei frere,
Li uns estait frere Edelwolf;
De Hestengle ert meistre rei il sul,
Alchere ert ducs de li tenant.

Athelstan was brother to the king (*i.e.* Ethelwolf),
This one was brother to Ethelwolf;
Of East Anglia he alone was head king,
Ealhhere was a chieftain (alderman) holding office from him.’

The testimony of Gaimar might be thought insufficient, were it not that it gives force and particularity to the allegations of Huntingdon, and that it is, moreover, confirmed by the testimony of coins—a species of evidence which has been unaccountably neglected by writers of recent times on East Anglian antiquities. A hundred years ago but little evidence of this class was accessible, but since then the discovery, at

intervals, of several hoards in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the contiguous counties of Kent and Surrey, has yielded information which cannot justly be ignored.

CHAPTER II

WHAT COINS TELL US OF EAST ANGLIAN HISTORY DOWN TO
THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE ELDER

THE gist of the numismatic evidence relating to East Anglia down to the time of Edward the elder may be succinctly stated as follows. A few coins of an early type have been attributed to King Aldulf, whose reign, or life, terminated in 713, and to Beonna, who reigned, perhaps with a colleague, for some years after 749. Next there occurs an unique, but possibly questionable, coin ascribed to S. Ethelbert (d. 794). The series is continued by coins of Eadwald, between 800-825; Athelstan, to whom coins of two markedly divergent types are assigned, 825-852; Beorhtric, 852-855; Ethelweard, about 855; Edmund, 855-870; Oswald and Ethelred, soon after 870; and Guthrum-Athelstan, the Danish prince who was baptized at the time of the famous Pact of Chippenham, or, as it is sometimes inaccurately called, of Wedmore, in 878, and, becoming king of East Anglia, reigned there till 890. It is thought that a coin or two may point to the existence of a Danish king named Heming at some time between 890 and the death of King Alfred in 902, but no coins have been found that can be attributed to Guthrum-Athelstan's known successor, Eohric or Eric, or to Guthrum-Athelstan II., the successor of Eric.

Before the end of Alfred's reign there had been instituted in or for East Anglia a commemorative coinage bearing the superscription of Saint Edmund. This coinage, which must, of course, be distinguished carefully from that which was minted by the authority of Edmund in his lifetime as king, is of importance as bearing on the question, often mooted, at what date the sanctity of the martyr was first publicly recognised.

But the list which has been given above by no means exhausts the catalogue of princes who, by the use on the obverse of their coins of the 'A' that constitutes the distinctive symbol of East Anglia, or in some other way, can be shown to have exercised or affected sovereign power in that kingdom. The claims of S. Ethelbert's immediate successor, Offa of Mercia, and of Egfrith, Cenulph, and Ceolwulf, were probably so obvious and irresistible as to be independent of this mode of assertion; but among the later Mercian kings, Beornwulf (though not Ludeca or Wiglaf), Berhtulf, and Burghred, as a few coins testify, continued, presumably, however, with shadowy success, and perhaps in respect of only a restricted area, or by the allowance of their West Saxon suzerains, to rely upon Offa's bloody title to the East Anglian crown. But when we turn to Wessex, we find that Egbert himself, and his son Ethelwulf also, exercised the prerogative of coinage in or for East Anglia; and, if on the one hand it seems likely that the Beorhtric above-mentioned was the son of the Mercian king Berhtulf (see Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. ii. pp. 2 and 33), on the other it is almost certain that in Ethelred we may recognise that king of Wessex who was reigning at the time when

Edmund was martyred. It is possible also that Oswald was son or nephew to Ethelred, and that in the confusion which ensued upon the death of Edmund some short-lived pretensions may have been advanced on his behalf to sovereignty over the East Angles. At all events, an Oswald, who is described as 'filius regis,' appears among the witnesses to a charter granted by Ethelred in 868, and to another charter granted by Æthelswith, queen of the Mercians, in the same year. (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. ii. pp. 135 and 140.) But one name is conspicuous by its absence. No coin is known to exist that in any way vouches for the statement of Galfridus de Fontibus that Edmund's immediate predecessor bore the name of Offa.

The principal discoveries of buried hoards of money which resulted in these additions to our historical knowledge took place at intervals during the last century. The first was made at Dorking or Mickleham, in 1817, the next occurred at Sevington, near Ashford, in 1834; the third at Gravesend, in 1839; the fourth at Cuerdale, in 1840; and the fifth at Croydon, in or near Norbury, in 1862. For further information upon this subject reference may be made to Haigh's *Numismatic History of East Anglia*, 1845; to Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd edition, 1887; to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum*, 1887; and to Mr. J. C. Anderson's *Antiquities of Croydon*. But what has already been advanced suffices to confirm in a remarkable manner the statements of Malmesbury and Huntingdon, and confers certainty upon the allegation of Gaimar, that Athelstan, the king of Kent, 839-852, was likewise king of East Anglia. We are thus in a position to appreciate the passage quoted by Dr. Battely (*Antiquitates*

S. Edmundi Burgi, pp. 11 and 12) from 'Jo. Bromton,' in which the compiler known by that name describes the dismal aspect of affairs in East Anglia at this period: 'After the death of S. Ethelbert, crowned in the flower of his youth with the chaplet of martyrdom, the kingdom of East Anglia remained for many years in turmoil, confusion, and desolation, under sub-kings and tyrants, until the accession of S. Edmund to the throne.'

CHAPTER III

ATHELSTAN—EGBERT—EDITH

WE are now brought within measurable distance of the reign and tragical death of King Edmund. But before we proceed to the examination of the extensive literature which has grown around his name, some inquiry may usefully be made as to the identity and fortunes of Athelstan, that king of Kent and the adjacent provinces, who, from the number and variety of his extant coins, is proved to have reigned also over the East Angles for substantially the second quarter of the ninth century. Athelstan has been a standing problem and puzzle, alike as regards his parentage and his fate, and a cloud of legends encircles, and veils, his memory.

Till recently, the predominant view seems to have been that he was a natural son of Ethelwolf, and it was supposed to be confirmed by the authority of the *English Chronicle* and of Asser, as well as of Ethelweard, Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, the S. Albans historians, Richard of Ciren-

cester, etc. But an investigation of the facts shows that foundation is lacking to this opinion. Of six versions of the *English Chronicle* reproduced in Thorpe's edition (Rolls Series), three are definite in the assertion that Athelstan was the son of Egbert, and the compiler of one of these versions is known to have been especially conversant with Kentish affairs. Of these three versions the testimony may be condensed as follows:—

'Eggbryht reigned thirty-seven years and seven months, and his son Æthelwulf succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and Æthelstan, his¹ other (Thorpe translates, second) son, succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish people, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South Saxons.'

On the other hand, three copies of the *Chronicle* are somewhat ambiguous in their terms. Apart from merely verbal differences, the substance of these three copies may be thus expressed:—

'Eggbryht reigned thirty-seven winters and seven months, and Æthelwolf, son of Eggbryht, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and he gave his son Æthelstan the kingdom of the Kentish people, and of the East Saxons, and of Surrey, and of the South Saxons.'

The question is, of course, who is meant by 'he' in the phrase 'he gave his son Æthelstan,' etc.? Florence of Worcester either did not notice, or, more probably, was unable to resolve, the ambiguity, which in his Latin rendering he has (perhaps deliberately) perpetuated. He writes:—

'Eggbrihtus rex Occidentalium Saxonum obiit, . . . Cujus post mortem filius suus Athulfus in West Saxoniam regnare

¹ The *Chronicles* have 'his oþer sunu.'

cœpit, suumque filium Athelstanum Cantuariis East-Saxonibus, Suthregiis et Suth-Saxonibus regem præfecit.'

The interpretation furnished by William of Malmesbury is liable to similar criticism. It runs, as under:—

'Ethelwulfus, quem quidam Athulfum vocant, . . . avito West Saxonum regno contentus, cetera quæ pater subjugaverat appendicia filio Ethelstano contradidit, qui quando et quo fine defecerit incertum.'

Had the writer added 'suo' or 'ejus' to 'filio,' his understanding of the relationships would have been manifest.

When we turn to Asser, we are confronted with a difficulty of another kind. The words 'filius regis Adelwolf,' of which the meaning is plain enough, and in virtue of which Asser has been claimed as a witness on Ethelwolf's side, were not, according to the assertion of Wanley, to be found in the destroyed Cottonian MS., and must have been interpolated into the text of the Life of Alfred from the Chronicle of S. Neots, a MS. of the early half of the twelfth century. (See Mr. W. H. Stevenson's Asser.)

Of really ancient authorities, therefore, Ethelweard alone remains as the support of those who hold Athelstan to have been the son of Ethelwolf. He says (*Six Old English Chronicles*, Giles's translation, p. 28): 'The sons of Ethelwolf were five in number. The first was Ethelstan, who also shared the kingdom with his father.' But Ethelweard's blunders in respect of facts and words are notorious, and he is but a broken reed to lean upon. Moreover, we have on the other side of the account the testimony of Huntingdon, Gaimar, and the Northern Chroniclers. The balance of authority has consequently been completely shifted.

Consideration of the actual incidents of Athelstan's life, so far as they are known, leads us to wonder how that prince could have been affiliated to Ethelwolf. Athelstan was certainly old enough in 839 to be made king of an important part of Egbert's dominions. The name of 'Æthelstan Dux' occurs among the signatories to a Charter of Egbert as early as 826, and if about that date he was set over the East Anglian kingdom, in succession to Eadwald, his birth can hardly be placed later than, say, 810; while, if Polydore Vergil is right in saying (English translation) that Egbert was succeeded by his young son Ethelwolf, Athelstan might have been older than his supposed father. Again, we know that Alfred was born in 849; if, therefore, Athelstan was born about 810, there would be nearly forty years between the birth of Athelstan and the birth of his brother or half-brother Alfred. Then the birth of Ethelwolf would have to be thrown back to, say, 790, *i.e.* to a date considerably earlier than Egbert's return to England—a supposition which is very hard of belief.

Ethelweard, Wendover, and others did not perhaps reflect how their assertions as to the relationship between Athelstan and Ethelwolf might affect the prevalent stories of the latter's monastic tonsure, and acceptance of holy orders. Without pressing this point, it may be noticed that there is evidence that Ethelwolf was not married till after the death of Egbert in 839. On the whole, it seems safe to conclude that Athelstan was the son of Egbert. Was he older or younger than Ethelwolf? and was he Ethelwolf's whole brother? The expression used in some versions of the *Chronicle*, 'his oþer sunu,' is no doubt open to the interpretation adopted by Thorpe, 'his younger son.' But is this interpretation certainly correct?

Robert of Gloucester, it is true, speaks of Athelstan as Ethelwolf's younger brother. Langtoft, who attributes to Egbert five sons, each of whom was crowned 'en diverse realme,' says that Ethelwolf was 'le ainé fiz.' Leland, who has a wild statement (matched by one to like effect in 'Walter of Coventry'), that 'Egbright' was 'extreit de Athelstan,' asserts (ed. 1774, vol. ii. p. 520) that 'Ecbright had ii sunnes, Etheluuolf the eldeste, and Athelstane the younger.' But in the *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls Series, p. 22) there is a singular passage in which it is alleged that, upon the death of Egbert, the nobles and prelates with one accord raised to the kingly dignity his son Ethelwolf, though monk and subdeacon. To do this, appeal to the Pope was necessary. Then, it is stated, 'Summus vero pontifex . . . revolvens quantum ignominiosum in eodem regno oriretur discidium, *extranei sicque polluti sanguinis admixtione*, . . . in regem Adulphum sumere jubet.' Can the explanation of the words in italics be that Athelstan was the offspring of some union contracted by Egbert during his residence abroad, whereas Ethelwolf was the son of an English wife? It is strange that of a great and famous king like Egbert we know so little. His father, as we learn from the *Chronicle* and from Asser, was Ealhmund, the son of Eafa (called in the *Liber de Hyda* and by Higden, Offa). Why Anderson in his *Royal Genealogies* made Ealhmund the son of Alric, king of Kent, cannot be divined. Of that ponderous work one of the difficulties is that authorities are not named, and references are not given. Langtoft describes Egbert as 'fiz Aylrike,' duke of Wycombe, Thame, and Reading. Of Egbert's mother the name is not anywhere given, but Leland asserts that Egbert was of West Saxon royal descent on the mother's side

(vol. ii. p. 520). Langtoft speaks of this lady as sister of Sibrythe (Sibert). Who was Egbert's wife? Lappenberg cites Wynne's *Caradoc* for the authentication of Rædburh, who is said to have stirred up her husband to aggressions upon the Welsh. But the Wilton metrical Chronicle, referred to by Leland (vol. iii. p. 219) and edited by Dr. C. Horstmann (*S. Editha sive Chronicon Vilodunense*, Cott. Faust. B. iii., Heilbronn, 1883), assigns to Egbert, as wife, Osyth, who is said to have been the mother of Atwolf (*i.e.* Ethelwolf). The *Chronicle* asserts
 'Kynge Egberde had sones no mo.'

All this is sufficiently puzzling, but, as a further bewilderment, Anderson in his genealogical tables gives to Egbert three¹ sons—(1) Ethelbald, the eldest, who is alleged to have died 's.p.'; (2) Ethelwolf; (3) Athelstan. The last named is credited with a son named Offride, of whom it is said that he did not succeed his father, owing to his minority, but King Ethelbert seized the appanages. There is also mention of a daughter born to Athelstan, and married to an alderman in Lincolnshire. But no ancient authority is given for these ascriptions, and I have not been able to find any.

I now turn to some old legends connected with Egbert and Athelstan. Langtoft, (*Rolls Series*, vol. i. p. 302), says that Wiglaf fell in battle near Doncaster, fighting against the Danes. The next day (p. 304) Egbert, who was engaged in these operations, was reinforced by his two sons :

'Survindrent ses deus fiz chivalers assemez,
 Hors de Germenye de lur parentez
 Edelwolph et Edelstan sunt les deus nomez.'

¹ In one version of the Legend of S. Modwen Arnulf or Earnulf is mentioned as son to Egbert.

In the ensuing engagement Ethelwolf saves his father's life; Ethelstan also manifests his prowess, and strikes to the ground one 'Dardan.' After this, Egbert, time-worn and battle-worn, takes his sons into partnership. Ethelwolf obtains Wessex, and the overlordship from the Tweed to Dover. Ethelstan holds under Ethelwolf Sussex, Kent, and Essex.¹

John Fordun has preserved a still more surprising tale concerning Athelstan in his *Scotorum Historia* (Gale, xv. *Scriptores*. See also Skene, *Historians of Scotland*, 1871). Having enumerated three English kings named Athelstan, of whom the first, he declares, was the last king of Kent before Egbert's annexation of that kingdom (Baldred, we know, was really the king of Kent whom Egbert expelled), the second being the son of Ethelwolf, and the third the son of Edward the elder, Fordun fastens upon the remark of William of Malmesbury, quoted above, regarding the second Athelstan, 'qui quando, vel quo fine, defecerit incertum,' and exclaims with glorious scorn, 'If William did not know the facts, we know them very well.' The Scottish writer then proceeds to tell a marvellous story of the defeat of Athelstan not far from Tyneside by Hungus, king of the Picts, thanks to the special favour of S. Andrew. He further asseverates that Athelstan was slain in the fight, and that Hungus, to commemorate a triumph so miraculous, cut off his enemy's head and carried it to a rock in the middle of the sea, where it was stuck on a pole, and remained an object of interest for years. 'Regis vero caput ob tam miraculosæ cædis memoriam, abscisum a corpore rex secum afferens, in medio maris Scotici, cujusdam summitate rupis palo præ-

¹ Langtoft also identifies Guthrum-Athelstan, the king of East Anglia, with Gunter, the father of Havelock.

cepit infigi, cunctis transeuntibus per annos aliquot ad spectaculum.'

This tale occurs also in, and was probably derived from, the legend of S. Andrew. Skene cites, with date MCLXV., MS. Colbert, Bib. Imp. Paris, 4126, and with date MCCLXXIX., MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 4628, a registro prioratus Sancti Andreæ (see *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, Scottish Records*, 1867, p. 139 and pp. 183-4). I have extracted the following:—

'Tunc temporis Hungus, filius Ferlon, magnus Rex Pictorum, congregavit exercitum suum contra Adhelstanum Regem Saxonum et castrametatus est ad ostium fluminis Tyne . . . Regis autem Saxonum Adhelstani capite amputato, innumera Saxonum facta est cædes. Rex vero Hungus, victoria potitus, cum exercitu non modico in terram suam rediens, caput Adhelstani secum precepit adferri et in loco qui dicitur Ardchinechun, infra portum qui nunc dicitur Portus Reginæ (Queensferry) ligno fecit affigi.'

Skene has another passage, taken from the *Pictish Chronicle*, which concerns Athelstan. It runs:—

'Adalstan filius Advar rig Saxan, et Eochaid filius Alpini, mortui sunt.'

Here, I take it, Advar signifies Egbert.

It is impossible to make anything of Fordun's narrative. What should have taken our Athelstan to the Tyne in or about 852, when he disappears from English records? Further, the reign of the great King Hungus cannot be brought down later than about 823, so that chronology militates against the possibility of his rather barbarous exploit.

One more, and perhaps the most mysterious of all the legends or conjectures relating to Athelstan, identifies him with S. Neot

(the supposition being that, after the battle of Sandwich in 851, he retired from the world) and makes him mentor to Alfred the Great.

Tradition assigns to Athelstan a sister named Edith, whose place in the West Saxon pedigree varies, as does Athelstan's, accordingly as she is described as Egbert's daughter or Ethelwolf's. This Edith (she is here taken to be the daughter of Egbert) is said to have been the first Abbess of Polesworth, and is brought by legends into connection with S. Modwen and S. Osith. She was reckoned a Saint, as were also two other Ediths, one sister to King Edgar, and apparently venerated at Tamworth; the other Edgar's natural daughter, celebrated as the Abbess of Wilton. Some writers connect with Polesworth, by the name of Edith, that sister of King Athelstan, son to Edward the elder, who was married to Sihtric, king of Northumbria; but the name of this princess is given by Wallingford (*valeat quantum*) as Orgiva (Ordgith?), and it seems likely that some confusion has occurred between Ordgith and the earlier S. Edith, owing to the brother in each case being named Athelstan.

The village of Kemsing in Kent also preserves the memory of a S. Edith, said to have been born there. Leland (*Coll.*, vol. iii. 356) takes from the Life of S. Edith of Wilton, 'ab incerto auctore,' a note to the following effect, 'Editha nata in Kemesinthia cantie,' and Lambarde, in his *Perambulations*, certainly identifies S. Edith of Kemsing with S. Edith of Wilton. Lambarde, however, was too vehement a Puritan to examine with patience any hagiological traditions, and though his statement may be taken to represent the current belief, it is not necessarily correct. On the other hand, there is evidence

of the Abbey of Wilton having been endowed in the thirteenth century with a rent-charge issuing from land in Kemsing, so the belief was apparently ancient. But the identification of the several Saints Edith is very difficult, and it is with some diffidence that I propound the question whether S. Edith of Kemsing, and perhaps the Edith of Edyve'sland in Cobham was not, in truth, the sister of Athelstan, king of Kent, and the same as the Abbess of Polesworth ?

I have dwelt thus at length on the story of Athelstan, and his father and sister, partly because of the importance of the first named in East Anglian history, and partly for reasons, which will become manifest in the sequel, connected with the little-known but dramatic and startling poem printed in this volume under the title of 'The Romance of King Athelstone.'

And now we are brought to the days, big with peril not for East Anglia only, but for all England, when a gentle and modest youth named Edmund, of high lineage and princely bearing, was raised sorely against his natural inclination, with popular acclaim indeed, but an acclaim which brooked no refusal, to the throne which Athelstan had so long filled.

CHAPTER IV

THE CURRENT TRADITION RESPECTING S. EDMUND

THE popular, and by dint of frequent repetition the 'authorised' version of the Legend of S. Edmund may be collected from several of the pieces in this volume, and especially, 'writ large,' so to speak, and 'jam latissime patens'—stretched to its fullest extent—from the long extract from 'Bodley, 240,' and from

Lydgate's poem, which was probably founded upon that important MS., as was also the derivative compilation inserted by direction of Abbot Curteys in the Register of S. Edmundsbury Abbey, which bears his name. An abridgment of this legend, contained in MS. Tanner, 15, appears to be approximately the equivalent of the story as edited by Capgrave in the *Nova Legenda Anglie* from the recensions of John of Tyne-mouth (or Timworth), and of Guido de Castre, Abbot of S. Denis.

For convenience an epitome of this legend is appended as it is contained in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvi., 1888.

'EDMUND or EADMUND (841-870), king of the East Angles, martyr and saint, was born in Saxony, in the city of Nuremberg, in 841, being the son of King Alkmund and Queen Scivare. About 854 Offa, king of the East Angles, on his way to the Holy Land, sojourned awhile with Alkmund, and on that occasion adopted Eadmund as his heir. On the journey back from the holy sepulchre next year, Offa died at Port St. George, having previously sent his ring to Eadmund. Alkmund fitted out a suitable expedition for his son. Eadmund then "sailed and landed in East England, at a place called Maydenboure, where . . . he made devout prayer to God . . . and not far from thence built a royal tower called Hunstantone. There he held his household one year, and then removed to Athelbrough, where he remained one whole year, and learned his Psalter in the Saxon tongue, which book was preserved in the revestrie of the monastery of St. Edmundsbury till the church was suppressed in the reign of King Henry VIII., as I have been credibly informed" (Stow).

'Eadmund began his reign on 25th December 855, and was

crowned and anointed king of East Anglia (at Burva ? Walcott) by Humbert, bishop of Hulme, the following Christmas day, being then fifteen years old (GALFRIDUS DE FONTIBUS . . . *De pueritia Sancti Edmondi*).

'About this time the incursions of the Danes became more formidable and persistent. . . . There is a tradition that the famous Danish pirate, Ragnar Lodbrog, was driven by a storm upon the Norfolk coast, and, landing at Reedham, was conducted to the court of King Eadmund, and that there while out hunting he was, in the absence of the king, murdered by Eadmund's huntsman, Berne. It is more probable that he was slain by Ælla, king of Northumbria, and that it was to avenge his death that the great invasion of the Danes occurred in 866 (WALCOTT, *East Coast of England*). . . . The northmen first attacked Northumbria, and then sailed to East Anglia. . . . According to some, at the time of the invasion Eadmund was quietly residing at a village near Heglisdune (*i.e.* the hill of eagles, afterwards called Hoxne or Hoxon), and making no preparations for active defence; but his earl, Ulfketul, meeting the Danes in battle at Thetford, was beaten with dreadful slaughter. Other accounts represent Eadmund as having fought this battle in person. . . .

'At any rate, after this battle Hingwar sent an envoy to Eadmund with a haughty command to divide with him his treasures, renounce his religion, and reign as his vassal. On receiving this message the king held counsel with one of his bishops, who advised compliance. A dialogue ensued, which is recorded by Abbo Floriacensis in a book addressed to Dunstan, in which the whole story is said to have been told by an old soldier of Edmund's, on his oath, to the illustrious Ethelstan. . . .

'Upon the departure of the Danes the body was found, and being taken to Hoxne, was there buried in the earth in a wooden chapel. . . . The remains were left at Hoxne for thirty-three years, and then miracles began to be attributed to the martyred king. A large church having been built by Sigebert, a former king of East Anglia, at Bury (formerly Beodericsworth), the remains were deposited there in a splendid shrine, enriched with jewels and precious ornaments, where they remained until the incursion of the Danish king, Sweyn, when Ailwin, the bishop, fearing outrage to the saint, sent his body to London. It remained there three years, when it was carried back to Bury. A manuscript cited by Dugdale in his *Monasticon* and entitled "Registrum Cœnobii S. Edmondi," informs us that on its return to Bury "his body was lodged at Aungre, where a wooden chapel remains as a memorial to this day." This same wooden chapel is supposed to form the nave of Greenstead Church, Essex. . . .

'The tree at which tradition declared Eadmund to have been slain stood in the park at Hoxne until 1849, when it fell. In the course of its breaking up, an arrow-head was found imbedded in the trunk. . . .

'[*Saxon Chronicle*; Holinshed's and Grafton's *Chronicles*; Speed's *Great Britain*; Lingard's *History of England*; Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*; Freeman's *Old English History*; local traditions.]'

From the legend as thus constructed some obvious absurdities have been retrenched. In the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, and in Tanner, 15, Alcmund is alleged to have had no heir by Siware when he went to Rome; but when Offa, also in search of an heir, visits Alcmund at a later date, he is waited upon by two

sons of the Saxon king, of whom Edmund is the younger ! But the serious blunder of placing Nürnberg in Saxony is reproduced, and G. de Fontibus is made responsible for 'Alcmund' and 'Siware,' whereas that writer never mentions by name either the father or the mother of Edmund. Indeed it may be doubted whether these names occur in any authority of much earlier time than the close of the thirteenth century. Further, when they do occur, it is almost certainly from the mistakes of careless or ignorant scribes. Dr. Battely's conjecture as to the manner in which the name of Siware was borrowed from the legend of S. Botolf, in which she appears as the wife of Ethelmund, wears an appearance of great probability, when regarded in the light of the passages from John of Wallingford printed below. In these we find a palpable confusion between Ethelmund and Alcmund, the father of King Egbert being styled indifferently by either name. Another guess made by Dr. Battely, though ingenious, is less convincing. About the end of the thirteenth century a monk from the Low Countries, named Florentius, came to Bury, and, in pursuing researches into the history of his patron, S. Adalbert of Cormin, a deacon (said to have been the son of King Athelwold, and the grandson of the famous S. Oswald) who accompanied S. Willibrord towards the end of the seventh century as a missionary, came across a statement, shown to him by the Bury monks, to the effect that Adalbert, or Ethelbert, was brother to S. Edmund, and that both were the sons of Alcmund, Ethelbert having reigned for thirty-seven years and seven months before Edmund. Dr. Battely thinks that Florentius confounded the missionary S. Adalbert of Cormin with S. Ethelbert of East Anglia, who was murdered in 794. But it seems more likely that the

confusion was with Egbert, who certainly was the son of Alcmund, and whose reign in England lasted that exact period of thirty-seven years and seven months. The blunder in respect of the name has a parallel in Walter of Coventry (Rolls Series, vol. i.), where Egbert's name is misspelled Edelbert.

To proceed. The story of Edmund's adoption by Offa, king of East Anglia, is taken from Galfridus de Fontibus, the sole authority for it. No coin attests the existence of such a king, and there does not seem to be a gap in the series of East Anglian sovereigns into which his reign could be fitted. No written record is to be found (except the treatise *De Pueritia*, and compilations embracing this treatise) in which such a king is mentioned. If the story is to be saved, and it may very possibly be the embodiment of a genuine tradition, one is driven to the conclusion either that Offa was a kinglet of some small district like Marshland, for which the legend of S. Fremund affords some slight colour, or, preferably, that the name Offa is an abbreviation or corruption of Æthelstan, which had lingered among the East Anglian peasantry or the fen-men.

It is a pity that S. Edmund's recent biographer has relied on gossip of Stow and Speed, or late writers like Grafton and Holinshed, instead of consulting the old authorities. Stories like that of the Psalter used by S. Edmund in his boyhood having been preserved in Bury crumble to dust on the slightest examination. Again, it is not G. de Fontibus who is responsible for assigning 'Burva' (a name with no corresponding place) as the scene of Edmund's coronation, or for the description of Humbert as Bishop of 'Hulme' instead of Elmham, an error apparently borrowed from Dr. Yates, the not very accurate author of a partly-executed history of Bury Abbey.

I come now to the impossible story of Lothbroc and Bern, the so-called huntsman of King Edmund. It certainly is an old story, and is to be found in Wendover and M. Paris. If Mr. Luard's account of the compilations of these writers is to be accepted, the legend may be carried back a little further to John de Cella, Abbot of S. Albans. How it originated, it is difficult to say. It may be an echo, and misappropriation, of the tradition concerning Osbert of Northumberland and Biörn Butzecarl.¹ But it is to be observed that, in the legend of S. Edmund as known to G. de Fontibus, Bern (or Wern) is not connected with Edmund, but appears as brother to Inguar and Hubba. So again Denis Pyramus has

‘Yngar, Hubbe, e Berin lur frere,
Li murdrer, li engres larum.’

There is a passage also in the poem of William of Ramsey, which may have laid the foundation for the stupid and revolting figment which Thomas of Elmham has perpetuated, and which will be found in an Appendix.

Of Bern or Biörn, we find some account in Duchesne (whose name is metamorphosed by Dr. Battely into ‘Quercetanus’). *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, MDCXIX. The following is an extract from *Orderici Vitalis Vicensis Monachi Eccl. Historiæ*, Lib. III., p. 458 :—

‘Tempore Caroli Regis Francorum qui Simplex cognominatus est, Brier (al. Bier in margin) cognomento costa-ferrea filius Lothbroci regis Danorum, cum Hastingo nutritio suo, et ingenti juvenum multitudine, ad depopulandas gentes, de vagina sua egressus est.’

¹ A similar story is told of Ælle, Osbert's contemporary and rival. In this case the wronged husband's name is given as Arnulf.

From the history *Willelmi Calculi Gemmeticensis Monachi*, pp. 216-217, I take another excerpt :—

‘ Quo tempore Pagani cum Lothbroci regis filio nomine Bier, costæ quidem ferreæ, procurante ejus expeditionem Hastingo omnium Paganorum nequissimo, a Noricis seu Danicis finibus eructantes, maritima litora incolentes continuis cladibus vexaverunt, civitates diruentes atque abbatias concremantes.

Page 218. Quæ gens iccirco sic multiplicatur, quoniam nimio dedita luxui mulieribus jungebatur multis. Nam pater adultos filios cunctos a se pellebat, præter unum, quem hæredem sui juris relinquebat. . . .

Quæ denique lex per multorum tempora regum inconvulsa mansit, quoadusque Lothbrocus rex, de quo supra prælibavimus, patri in regno successit. Is etiam Rex, patrum legibus excitus, cum ingenti juvenum agmine sorte cogente filium nomine Bier costæ ferreæ a suo abdicat regno, cum ejus pædago Hastingo per omnia fraudulentissimo, ut peregrina regna petens, exteris sibi armis acquireret sedes. Qui ideo costa ferrea vocabatur, quia non ei clypeus objiceretur, sed inermis in acie stans, armorum vim quamcumque sperneret illæsus, vehementissimis matris ejus venenis infectus.’

The writer adds ‘vehuntur lupi pernices ad lacerandas Dominicas oves, Deo suo Thur humanum sanguinem libantes.’

It seems probable that the episode of Bern the hunter has been transfused into the legend of S. Edmund from the tradition connected with Biörn Ironside.

That Lothbroc's sons ‘first attacked Northumbria and then sailed to East Anglia,’ is not exact; the account given by the *English Chronicle* is just the reverse of this. The Danes landed first in East Anglia, wintered there, obtained horses, and went

northwards in the spring. It was not till after several years that they returned to East Anglia, and found Edmund at Hæglisdune, correctly, according to Abbo, 'Hægelisdun' (Heylesdon or Hellesdon). The name is in no way connected with 'Eagles,' a word of Franco- or Normanno-Latin origin, unknown in England before the Conquest, whereas the Old English for eagle is 'earn.' Nor is Hægelisdun etymologically connected with Hoxne. Nor, again, is there any proof that Hoxne was ever called Hægelisdun. The word 'Hoxne' occurs, with the mention of a church of S. Ethelbert there, but no allusion to S. Edmund, in the will of Bishop Theodred, *circa* 950 A.D., five-and-thirty years before Dunstan told the story of S. Edmund's martyrdom to Abbo and others. The earliest reference to Hoxne in connection with S. Edmund's death is contained in the foundation charter granted to the monks of Norwich by Bishop Herbert of Losinga in 1101, and in the confirmation of this charter by Henry II., the words which assert the connection do not occur. At a later date the name of the place where S. Edmund was killed was given as Hoxe, as in Wendover, or Hore, as in M. Paris, or Horne, as in one passage of 'Bodley, 240,' but undoubtedly Hoxne became to be generally regarded as the sacred spot, notwithstanding the clear assertion of Hermann the Arch-deacon, before the close of the eleventh century, and even then declared to be of ancient tradition ('majorum relata'), that the place of the martyr's first sepulture, which was close to the scene of his martyrdom, was at Sutton.¹

The interpolation of Earl Ulfkettel into the legend of S. Edmund, for which 'Ingulf' carries the prime responsibility, arises obviously from some reminiscences of the gallant East

¹ See Note I. at the end of the Preface.

Anglian leader who fought against the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, and under Edmund Ironside, during the early years of the eleventh century. The name of the latter, and the circumstance that he was for a brief space king of East Anglia, by virtue of the partition of the country between himself and Cnut (under which the dividing-line was drawn, roughly speaking, not from the Thames to the Dee, as in the compact between Alfred and Guthrum, but from the Bristol Channel to the Wash), readily explain the confusion.

With respect to the aged survivor of the dreadful carnage of 20th November 870, that sword-bearer of S. Edmund, whom Dunstan in his youth heard repeat to King Athelstan the story of the Saint's passion and death, and of Abbo's declamatory expansion of the story, it is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the reasons for caution in the receipt of such testimony. Pruned and curtailed by Ælfric, with excellent judgment, the narrative makes far less exacting demands upon our capacity of belief, and it may even have been the case that Ælfric had the help of one or other of Dunstan's auditors in abridging the diffuse and rhetorical exercise of Abbo. At all events, the conclusion is certain that in Ælfric's homily we have something much nearer to the actual utterance of Dunstan, and much nearer also to the actual story of the old sword-bearer. If we only could be sure of the genuineness of the latter! There is a tale in Wendover to the effect that in 929 King Athelstan set out on a tour of inspection of the shrines of saints in his kingdom, beginning with Glastonbury. If this is true, Athelstan must have visited Bury S. Edmunds, and it may be that in the course of this visit he presented, as we are told he did, a copy of the Gospels to the nascent community of guardian

priests. But at that time Dunstan was, according to common accounts, only four or five years of age. On such an occasion it would not be unlikely that any survivor of the events of 870 still living in the neighbourhood would be admitted to the king's presence; but how far, in such case, can we trust the memory of Dunstan, then a mere child? Can we suppose, again, that the main facts of Edmund's death were not already known to Athelstan? He might well have learned them from his grandfather Alfred, to whom they must have been familiar. The question is beset with difficulties, and one might even ask whether it does not seem possible, when regard is had to the known incidents in Dunstan's early life at Court, that some sort of practical joke, intended to fasten ridicule upon him, may have been devised by unsympathetic courtiers who for that purpose 'embroidered' a tradition that was already common property?

The statement that the remains of the martyr, when they were translated from their first resting-place to Bury, were deposited in the 'large church' built by Sigebert in the seventh century, is devoid of foundation, and argues a strange lack of regard for Abbo's distinct asseveration that the East Anglian populace on this occasion combined to erect for the reception of the Saint's body '*permaximam miro ligneo tabulatu ecclesiam*,' an immense church of wondrous construction in wood.

It remains to be pointed out, before taking leave of the article which has been passed under review, that the identification of the nave of Greenstead Church with the wooden chapel at Aungre, in which S. Edmund's body found a temporary lodging in Sweyn's time, is open to great doubt, and that the story

of the Hoxne oak which fell in 1849 seems to have had no existence a hundred years ago, and, like the oak, and about the same time, to have fallen in pieces.

It may perhaps assist some of my readers if I here note some mistakes or doubtful assertions scattered among works of S. Edmund's biographers.

1. A frequent mistake is the attribution to Asser of statements culled from the Chronicle of St. Neots, once erroneously denominated the 'Annals of Asser.' Mr. W. H. Stevenson's admirable edition of Asser should be consulted for guidance in discriminating between Asser and the anonymous compiler of the so-called 'Annals.'

2. Alban Butler asserts, on no authority that I have discovered, that Offa, king of the East Angles, desirous to end his days in penance and devotion at Rome, resigned his crown to S. Edmund.

3. The same writer credits S. Edmund with a year's retirement in his royal tower (improved by others into a town) at Hunstanton. Is there sufficient voucher for this?

4. He also mentions a Kanninghall, or Kyninghall, as being a chief palace of the kings of East Anglia. Is there any warrant for this?

5. 'Oxon,' he says, was called, when S. Dunstan heard the story, 'Henglesdun.' This is a double blunder.

6. He calls Bedricsworth, Kingston. It was a 'villa regia,' but that it ever was called Kingston is more than doubtful. This, and the preceding mistake, have been unfortunately repeated in Stanton's valuable *Menology*.

7. Miss Arnold-Forster, in her very interesting work entitled *Studies in Church Dedications*, which I have found most useful,

vol. ii. p. 327, gives Abbo credit for making it 'his special business to collect all the information he could touching S. Edmunds.' I think Abbo's special business was to teach his pupils at Ramsey to write and read Latin; we have his own statement that, with a very slight exception, the whole of his information about S. Edmund was derived from Dunstan.

8. Miss Arnold-Forster also, same vol. p. 328, wrecks Edmund in the course of his voyage off the north coast of Norfolk. I do not know the evidence of such an incident.

9. At pp. 329-30, when she speaks of the antagonists against whom the 'boy-king' was matched, does she not forget that, at the time of the Danes' arrival in 866, Edmund was twenty-five years old?

10. P. 331. It seems to be assumed that the sword-bearer was identical with the cowering Christian who watched from a hiding-place the torture and death of his sovereign. But there is no warrant in Abbo for such identification.

11. Concerning this witness of S. Edmund's Passion, I observe that Prior Mackinlay, in his *S. Edmund*, a book replete with curious information, assigns to the words 'nostræ religionis' the special sense of a member of the Benedictine Order. But there seems to be no sufficient ground for putting so narrow construction upon the word 'religio,' and elsewhere Abbo uses it in its more general signification.

12. I must despatch two fictitious personages imagined to have been connected with King Edmund's court, one, Sathonius, whom Leland calls into being, perhaps from having been unable to read in his own notes the word 'Latomus,' i.e. a stone-cutter or mason; the other, Sigentius, whom Alford supposed to have

been the object of S. Edmund's generosity. The charter, upon which he relies, was really a grant by Edmund, son to Edward the elder, to Sigeric. (See Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.)

CHAPTER V

AN ESSAY TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION

OF the legend of S. Edmund as sketched above it may be said that, although it is still current and in a sense 'holds the field,' it is nevertheless unconvincing and discredited. The primary authorities give no countenance to the supposition that Edmund was by origin a foreigner. Abbo's expression, 'Ex antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia oriundus,' must not be pressed rigorously, and cannot be shown to denote the 'Old Saxons' in the special sense, familiar it may be admitted to our remote forefathers, of continental Saxons. Abbo was a maker of phrases, and in all likelihood his well-turned clause is but a neat equivalent of 'ex nobili et antiqua prosapia Saxonica,' implying that Edmund was, on the father's or the mother's side, a scion of the House of Cerdic. 'Saxonia' to Galfridus de Fontibus, or at least to the East Anglian depositaries of the tradition which he has retailed, may well have carried the meaning which it has in Asser, who applies the term to the non-Celtic and non-Anglian parts of Britain,¹ that is, to the ancestral kingdom of Wessex, with the addition of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex—the dominions inherited and acquired by Egbert, and by him transmitted

¹ 'Nobiles totius Saxonie'; 'Irremedicabile Saxonie periculum'; 'Occidentalis pars Saxonie semper Orientali principalior est' (Stevenson's Asser, p. 10).

to Ethelwolf and Athelstan. In somewhat similar manner Denis Pyramus writes of Offa, king of Essex :

‘ Un autre Offe encore i aveit,
De Seasoyne qui rei esteit.’

ll. 767-8.

The hymn-writer quoted at page 84 says :

‘ Tulit jubar hoc splendidum
Opima tellus Anglica ’;

and the author of the thirteenth-century poem preserved in Bodl. MS., Laud. 108, is clear in his testimony :

‘ Seinte Eadmund þe holie kyng : ibore was here bi este,
In þe on ende of Engelonde : of 3wam Men makiez feste.’

It thus appears that, side by side with the legend of Edmund’s continental extraction, there existed another tradition according to which the East Anglian hero-saint was home-born and home-bred. How is this other tradition related to such notices as we possess of Edmund’s family and local connections ? Abbo (citing Horace’s complimentary apostrophe to Mæcenas) describes Edmund as ‘atavis regibus editus,’ the descendant of royal ancestors, and in the same sentence informs us that it was by the urgent choice of his ‘comprovinciales,’ the people of East Anglia, rather than in virtue of his hereditary claims, that he was made king. It is difficult to suppose that Abbo could have spoken of a guest recently arrived from Germany as a ‘comprovincial’ of the folk among whom he was sojourning, and it seems certain that the royal ancestors must have been English, not foreign kings. David Chytræus,¹

¹ David Chytræus, whose real name was David Kochhaff, was a Protestant theologian of Swabia (b. 1530, d. 1600). His *Chronicle of Saxony*, of which the third edition was published ‘Lipsiæ, 1611,’ has been consulted. In the Index is

to whom appeal has been made, lends no support to the notion that 'Old Saxony' had any king, whether by the name of Alcmund or by any other name, upon whom King Edmund could possibly be fathered.

Again, to one writer, Edmund is the kinsman of S. Ethelbert; to Galfridus de Fontibus (Geoffrey of Wells, not, as Mr. Arnold suggests, Fountains near Ripon, but perhaps Upwell and Outwell in the Fen district, or Wells in Norfolk, or the 'Fontes' in that county from which the Fountaine family derived their name) Edmund is the nephew of the East Anglian king who immediately preceded him; William of Ramsey attests the same relationship:

'Supplendas patruī suscipit ille vices.'

To Langtoft and his translator Mannyng, or Le Brun, Edmund is the cousin of Ethelred, and by consequence also of Alfred, and his elder brothers Ethelbald and Ethelbert; and this being so, he was presumably nephew to Ethelwolf¹ and Athelstan, and grandson to Egbert. This would bring Edmund into the royal pedigree of Wessex, and as Egbert's father Alcmund (Ealhmund) was king of Kent, might also serve to connect Edmund with the Kentish royal line, and thus, if in no other way, through S. Sexburh, with King Anna and the founder of the East Anglian dynasty. We know also from the evidence of charters that Edward

an 'Anglæ Regum Series.' The book also contains a tree of the rulers of Saxony from Wittikind to the Elector Christian. But there is no mention of Alcmund or S. Edmund.

¹ Jacobus Philippus Foresta, otherwise di Bergamo, or Bergomensis (cited by Dr. Battely), b. 1434, d. 1520, has in his *Supplementum Chronicarum* (Venetijs, 1490, under date 857): 'Edmundus anglorum rex hoc anno post Alidulphum patrem Anglis regnare cepit, et regnavit annis 14.' The passage is obscure; perhaps 'patruum' should have been printed instead of 'patrem.'

the Confessor was proud to claim consanguinity with S. Edmund.

Still further, there are legendary traditions not a few which assign to Edmund relatives connected with localities in England. A brother Edwold, or Edwald,¹ is said to have refused the crown of East Anglia after S. Edmund's martyrdom, and to have lived a hermit's life at Cerne Abbas. S. Fremund is alleged to have been nephew to S. Edmund, as being the son of Offa reigning in Marshland, by his wife Botild, Edmund's sister. Another nephew was S. Reginhere,² entombed and venerated at Northampton. How unlikely it must appear that the imported scion of a foreign family should have so many near relations settled in England!

These considerations prepare us in great measure for the revelation contained in the *Romance of King Athelstone*, that S. Edmund was the offspring of English parents of high rank and position, his father, Egeland, or Egelan(e), being alderman in Kent, and his mother, Edith, sister to the reigning King Athelstan.³

It would indeed be rash to place reliance upon the details of such a poem, which may be the translation of a translation or expansion of some comparatively brief Old-English original, of

¹ The name Eadwald is found among King Edmund's moneyers.

² A name like Raegenhere occurs among Ethelweard's moneyers. In a fifteenth-century Northampton will there is allusion to the altar of S. Ereginar.

³ It should be noticed that Professor W. H. Schofield of Harvard University treats the *Romance* as conversant with the memory of Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred (*English Literature from the Roman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 275). But it would be hard to indicate any feature or incident in the *Romance* as in any way capable of application to the victor of Brunanburh, while the Kentish setting of a great part of the tale points obviously to the son of Egbert, and the climax in the birth of Edmund suggests a date nearly a century earlier than the reign of Athelstan, king of England.

which, moreover, the sense may have been imperfectly grasped by the translator. On the other hand, the main features of the narrative are not inconsistent with genuine history as preserved by coins and in writings.

Mr. Haigh,¹ in his endeavour to identify the principal characters of the drama, after recognising in Athelstan the son of Egbert, finds in Wimund the son of Wiglaf, king of Mercia. Certain it is that Wimund did not succeed his father on the throne, although from the terms employed in one of Wiglaf's charters it would appear that Wimund was regarded by him as practically a partner in his sovereignty; but 'Ingulf' relates that Wimund died in his father's lifetime of a 'long dysentery.' The testimony is not of a high class; but it may fairly be pleaded in defence of the father of S. Wistan. Alric, the Archbishop, Mr. Haigh fails to identify. For many years before S. Edmund was born, and to the year of his martyrdom, the Archbishop of Canterbury was Ceolnoth, and it requires some violence to convert Ceolnoth into Alric. Still, there are extant, in charters, etc., many and wide variations of Ceolnoth's name (including Eilnoth, Ceolred, and Calnoth), and a Norman scribe's want of familiarity with Old-English characters may be answerable for much. A simple solution, however, would be that the translator mistook *Afē* episcopus for Alric episcopus, and so gave to Ceolnoth a part of his title as his proper name. In Kemble, vol. ii. p. 2, we find *Ceolnoð . . . arē episċ*.

Coming to Egeland, Mr. Haigh, mindful of the coins of Ethelweard, known to have been king of East Anglia for a short period between Athelstan and Edmund, not unnaturally renders the name Egeland by Ethelweard, and discovers in this Ethel-

¹ *Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles*, 1845.

weard the father of Edmund. But in the MS. of the Romance the name of the Earl of Stane (or Stone) is frequently represented by 'Egelan' or 'Egelane,' and in these cases the termination '-her' or '-here' is suggested. Now we know from charters and chronicles that there was a thegn and alderman in Kent named Ealhhere (of this name also there are many variants), who in conjunction with Athelstan, king of Kent, won a great victory over the Danes at Sandwich in 851, and fell in gallant but unsuccessful fight against the same foes in 853. It seems therefore not improbable that the Egelane of the Romance and the father of Edmund was Ealhhere and not Ethelweard.

This conjecture receives surprising support from a variety of circumstances. In several extant charters the services and fidelity of Ealhhere are rewarded by grants of land.¹ One such estate was at Rochester; another was at Lenham. Both at Rochester and Lenham there are chapels of S. Edmund. Egelane was Earl of Stone, and at Dartford, at a short distance from Stone Castle, was a chapel of S. Edmund. At Kingsdown, near Sevenoaks, the church is dedicated to S. Edmund.

Egelane's wife was Edith, sister to King Athelstan. We have it on record—Higden may be cited as one authority—that Egbert had a daughter Edith as well as a son Athelstan. This Edith figures in the legend of S. Modwen, and appears to have been the original S. Edith of Polesworth in Warwickshire; she may also have been (*pace* Lambarde) that S. Edith who was venerated at Kemsing, not far from Kingsdown, for the legend that S. Edith of Wilton, the natural daughter of King Edgar, was born to Wulftrid at Kemsing seems to be the result of a mere guess made in after times to account for the 'cult' at

¹ See Note II. at the end of the Preface.

Kemsing of a saint named Edith. The metrical legend of Wilton has an unfortunate lacuna just at that part of the story where the account of the birth of S. Edith of Wilton probably occurred.

I will now attempt to construct from the various data to which reference has been made what may constitute a nearer approach to the true history of S. Edmund than can be obtained from the popular and time-honoured accounts of his career.

Egbert, when he returned to England to assume the crown of Wessex upon the death of Beorhtric, son-in-law to the great Mercian ruler Offa, was careful, before trying conclusions with Mercia, to consolidate his power in the South. He never quarrelled with Kenulf. But when, after the death of that powerful monarch, Mercian affairs fell into confusion, Egbert seized the opportunity afforded by his victory over Beornulf to turn out the Mercian puppet-king of Kent, and to annex the remainder of the south-eastern part of England. His designs were furthered by the adhesion to his cause of the East Anglians headed by their king, his nephew, Eadwald. Eadwald died soon afterwards without heir, and Egbert, as overlord, placed on the East Anglian throne, without much regard to the choice of the people of that country, his own son, and Eadwald's cousin, Athelstan. This happened about the year 826, and somewhere about that time Egbert's daughter Edith was married to a rising thegn named Ealhhere. Athelstan reigned for some years in East Anglia before the death of Egbert, his father, and the earlier type of Athelstan's coinage belongs to this period. By Egbert's dispositions Athelstan succeeded in 839 to the kingdoms of

Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and thus ruled nearly the whole country from the borders of Hants to the Wash. Soon afterwards, in 840, a terrible raid of the Danish pirates resulted in the defeat and death of Herbert,¹ a Mercian alderman, and the devastation of Lindsey, the fen-land, East Anglia, and Kent. About this time, and perhaps in connection with these events, Ealhhere, the king's brother-in-law, who had been advanced to the office of alderman, and stationed at Stone Castle to guard the Medway and the lower reaches of the Thames, was with his wife accused to Athelstan of treasonable designs by Wimund, the alderman posted at Dover to protect the Downs. Athelstan, in the first fury of his indignation, would have taken summary vengeance upon the supposed traitors, and was with great difficulty deterred from this purpose by Archbishop Ceolnoth. The respite gained was, however, effectual, and the loyalty of Ealhhere and of his wife was triumphantly vindicated. But the agitations of the charge and its disproof precipitated the confinement of Edith. She had been removed but a short distance from Westminster, the place of trial of her husband and herself, when, as she reached Norbury, after crossing the Thames at Lambeth, she gave birth to a son. The infant thrived and was brought in due course to Westminster to be christened. Athelstan was now completely reconciled to his sister and to Ealhhere, and, being himself without heir, seems to have in a

¹ Most commentators have assumed that Alderman Herbert fell in the Kentish marshes, but Marshland in Norfolk seems the more probable scene of his death, as better suiting the sequence of events described in the *Chronicle*. Two Herberts occur as witnesses to charters of this time. One apparently is a Mercian, the other a West-Saxon. But the latter witnesses a charter of Ethelwolf as late as 844 (Kemble, vol. ii. p. 18), and cannot be the Herbert now in question.

manner adopted the new-born babe, and to have designated him as inheritor of much of his substance, and even as his successor on the throne of East Anglia. The name 'Eadmund,' by which the child was baptized, was aptly chosen as denoting 'wealth' and 'protection.'

It was in stormy and threatening times that Edmund drew his earliest breath. Even in his first year, 841, the terrible Danes again flung themselves upon the sorely harassed territories of Kent and Middlesex. 'There was a great slaughter,' notes the old chronicler, 'at London, and at Cwantawic, and at Rochester.' In the next few years the burden of defence lay upon Ethelwolf and the men of Wessex, rather than upon Athelstan; but in 851 the attack of the 'heathen men' ranged over a wider area. Canterbury and London were stormed. Bertulf with his Mercian troops was routed. But Ethelwolf won a signal victory in Surrey, and the brothers-in-law Athelstan and Ealhhere, now happily united, achieved a brilliant triumph at Sandwich.

In the midst of such scenes and events the childhood of Edmund was passed. And it may have been about this time that Athelstan decided to take definite steps towards the realisation of his former pledges to secure the boy's advancement. Soon after the battle of Sandwich, when calm had for the time been restored to Kent and the adjacent country, he repaired to East Anglia to settle affairs in that kingdom, leaving Ealhhere as temporary king of Kent. Gaimar alludes perhaps to this arrangement in the line

'Adelher, li reis ki donc Kent tint.'

When due provision had been made for the governance of his

eastern dominions, Athelstan, full of gratitude for his success in war, but deeply impressed by the perils and uncertainties of the future, determined (as so many of his race had done) to make a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Palestine. Retracing his steps, therefore, he visited Ealhhere in the southern realm, and then formally adopted his nephew as his heir. Athelstan never returned. He disappears from the historic scenes in which he had played a conspicuous part, and Edmund, not without the poignant regrets of his father and mother, sailed, it may be from Greenhithe, or perhaps from Sheppey, across the estuary of the Thames, and along the coasts of Essex and East Anglia, till, having rounded the Norfolk shore, he reached the spot where Hunstanton now stands. His education was to be completed among the East Angles before any attempt was made to invest him with the insignia of royalty, and in the meantime a trusty thegn named Ethelweard,¹ whose name is to be found subscribed to charters of the period, was made vicerent of the country. The disposition of the inhabitants was at this time somewhat unsettled. Ethelbert, the second son of Ethelwolf, had ambitions of his own as regards the whole of Athelstan's inheritance. On the other hand, Burrhed, who, having succeeded Bertulf as king of Mercia, made suit for the hand of Ethelswith, the daughter of Ethelwolf, was not without hopes of being allowed to reincorporate East Anglia with Mercia.

It was shortly before Burrhed's marriage that a great sorrow befell the youthful Edmund. His studies were interrupted by

¹ Adelhard witnesses a charter of Egbert, 828, and a charter of Ethelwolf, 839. An Æthelheard dux witnesses charters of Bertulf, 849, and of Ceolred (witnessed also by Burgred rex), in 852. (Kemble, i. 237; ii. 33, 57, 58.)

the sad tidings of his father's death in the isle of Thanet. The Danes had once more (in 853) attacked that exposed district, when Ealhhere, with his Kentish men, and Huda, with the men of Surrey, fell upon the invaders. At first the English were victorious, but in the progress of the battle, fortune changed sides, and both Ealhhere and Huda were killed. This was a dreadful blow to the young prince, and an overwhelming calamity to Edith, rendered by sudden mischance a desolate widow. Her brother, Athelstan, was now no more; Edmund, her youngest and favourite son, had been removed from her. She had little interest in the world, and made up her mind to retire from it. Ethelwolf, to whom she turned in these circumstances, made arrangements for her to take the veil in a haven of seclusion which his father, Egbert, had granted to S. Modwen at Polesworth. Such events must have given to Edmund's character a tinge of seriousness, which is reflected in the legends of his occupations between the time of his arrival in Norfolk and his elevation to the throne. It was not till Christmas Day 855 that his reign formally began, and his coronation, which took place at Bures on the Stour near Sudbury, was deferred for yet a twelvemonth's space, till the Christmas following. What was the extent of the kingdom which the young prince was summoned to govern? Symeon of Durham says that he ruled 'super omnia regna Orientalium Anglorum' (see p. 102). These might include Cambridgeshire, or at least Ely and its Isle, as well as Norfolk and Suffolk.

And now, just as Edmund has, by free election of the people, who, during his stay among them, had learned to love and trust him, reached the splendour of the throne, he vanishes from our eyes, and remains almost imperceptible, for ten full

years. A few coins, disinterred after age-long concealment; prove the fact of his reign; the encomiums of chroniclers attest the uprightness, the purity, the valour, and the gentleness of the ruler. His kingdom seems to have been exempt during this period from external dangers: we read of neither invasion nor pillage. It may be that in this case was verified the truth of the saying, 'Happy is the nation without a history.'

The curtain rises again in the fateful year 866. We shall probably never know the precise causes of the stupendous irruption of the Danes into English territories which then took place. The accounts which we have of them are confused and contradictory. The fleets of the invaders, marshalled by Inguar, Hubba, Biörn or Bern, Guthrum, and other notables, first landed on the shores of East Anglia. They were in overwhelming force; they arrived, we must imagine, without warning. It cannot be shown that they ravaged the country or made war on the inhabitants. They stayed there during the winter season; procured horses, made a peaceful compact, and departed at the winter's end. Their subsequent movements afford colour to the tale that they had some special grudge against one of the Northumbrian kings. However this may have been, if their invasion began as a foray of revenge, it degenerated into a wild orgy of indiscriminate bloodshed and spoliation. They had no quarrel with Burghed, but they ravaged Mercia and seized Nottingham. It is possible that Edmund, in response to a summons from his overlord Ethelred, who was now on the throne of Wessex, took part in the somewhat insipid operations which ensued around Nottingham in the winter of 868, and that his share in that campaign was afterwards treated by the Danes as a pretext for their attack upon East Anglia in the

autumn of 870. But apart from this, the widespread havoc wrought by the pagan host must have prepared the king for the impending catastrophe.

Leaving York, a part of the marauders under Hubba marched overland through Mercia and eventually burst into the eastern kingdom. Another large force commanded by Inguar simultaneously embarked in the Humber, and proceeding down the Lincolnshire and Norfolk coasts, passed Yarmouth and Dunwich and anchored in the mouth of the Alde near Orford. That city was speedily plundered and burnt, and the residents were massacred. Edmund, whose scouts had no doubt watched from the cliffs of Norfolk and Suffolk the progress of the flotilla, raised without delay such force as could be spared from the defence of his country on its western borders and hurried to the threatened region. Battle was instantly joined; but his enemies were in overwhelming strength, and the scanty levies of the English were routed. Their line of retreat would naturally lie along the narrow tract near Campsey and Rendlesham, between the Deben and the Alde, but before they could secure it, the victorious Danes pressed on, and overtook the king somewhere near Bromeswell and Sutton, in a locality of which Abbo gives the name as Hægelsdun (Hellesdon). Then occurred the memorable scenes which the monk of Fleury has described; the insulting offers made by Inguar to the king; the indignant refusal; the infliction of cruel and spiteful tortures; and the glorious martyrdom. Meanwhile the march of the land forces under Hubba was being conducted with bloody success by way of Soham and Ely to Thetford. Particular attention should be fixed upon the statement of that unknown chronicler of whose compilation the unique manuscript was found by

Leland in the Priory of S. Neot,—‘Sancto rege sic martyrisato, proh dolor! pagani, nimium gloriantes, per Merciam item in Orientales Anglos transiverunt, et ibi in loco, qui dicitur Theodforda, hiemaverunt, et totam illam regionem sub dominio subdiderunt, eo quod omnes fortiores et nobiliores ejusdem gentis una cum sancto Rege, sive ante beatum regem crudeliter occubuerunt.’ In this passage is to be found the reconciliation of the curt records of the *Old English Chronicle* and of Asser with the vivid and detailed descriptions of Abbo and Ælfric.

Winter was now at hand; all resistance was crushed; the Danes settled themselves down for the season in sheltered coves or on sandy heaths. A sad task remained for the Christian survivors of massacre. Awe-struck and full of sorrow they searched for, and recovered, the body and head of their king, and laid them in a lonely grave, over which they reared a humble bedehouse, in the village of Sutton, near the tide-way of the Deben. When spring returned, the bulk of the invaders quitted East Anglia for their long struggle with Wessex. But inasmuch as fresh hordes of Danish marauders, no doubt, continued to land in the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk, their grip of the country was never relaxed till, by the pact of Chippenham in 878, Guthrum, now a Christian professed, and baptized by the name of Athelstan, acquired a peaceful title to the East Anglian kingdom. The reign of Guthrum-Athelstan lasted till his death in 890, and the Chronicle of S. Neots tells us that he was buried at Hadleigh. There may have been some attempt to place Edwold, a brother of S. Edmund, or Oswald, a nephew of Alfred, on the throne before Guthrum’s power was fully consolidated, but any such design must have been fruitless. After Guthrum’s death, Leland preserves a

faint tradition that Hæsten or Hasting reigned over East Anglia; but the more usual account is that Guthrum's son Eohric, or Eric, succeeded to the crown. During this period, according to William of Malmesbury, the lowly grave and chapel at Sutton were neglected, and the very spot was overgrown and well-nigh forgotten. Christianity itself seemed to wither, and to be in peril of extinction. Between 892 and 896, Pope Formosus indignantly rebukes the English Bishops for their apathy, 'audito nefandos ritus paganorum partibus in vestris repullulasse, et vos tenere silentium!' (Malmesbury, *Gesta Pont.*, p. 59.) But towards the close of Alfred's reign, and, we may conclude, not without Alfred's own sanction, the saintly character of the fallen Edmund began to be recognised. Four of the 'Saint' Edmund coins found at Cuerdale carry also the name of Alfred. There is a tradition to which Denis Pyramus gives utterance (ll. 3457-3464), that Alfred greatly venerated the memory of his cousin, and it is possible that the word 'atrociter,' used by Asser to glorify Edmund's desperate fight against the Danes, was suggested by some communication from Alfred himself. Whether it was at about this time, as was an opinion current in the fourteenth century (see a passage in Bodl., 240), that the body of S. Edmund was translated from its early resting-place to a more fitting place of sepulture in a magnificent basilica at Bedericaworth, must be left in doubt. There are other accounts according to which the removal took place early in the reign of Edward the elder, either in 903 or after the death of the rebellious Eric in battle with the men of Kent, on the East Anglian borders, about 906. A fitting phantom, in the person of a second Guthrum-Athelstan, the son of Eric, is revealed to us by the renewal of

the pact of Chippenham by Edward the elder, as the last Danish king of this epoch in East Anglia.

With the accession of the more renowned Athelstan, the golden-haired son of Edward, commences for S. Edmund, throned as he is in the hearts of an enthusiastic people, a splendid afterglow of love and veneration, and, as it were, a new reign and a more exalted life. Athelstan offers gifts at the shrine; his brother Edmund, the martyr's namesake, confers the whole town of Bedericsworth, to be re-named S. Edmund's Bury; Ælfgifu Emma, who receives as her bridal gift the soke of the eight hundreds and a half that encircle the Saint's resting-place, persuades her Lord, Cnut, to turn aside from the gain-saying of his miscreant father, Sweyn, and to deserve the protection, rather than to incur the wrath, of the still-reigning spiritual king of the land; Harthacnut enlarges the bounty of Cnut, and Edward the Confessor endows, with the wealth and power which had belonged to his mother, the monastery which has grown around the altar of S. Edmund. And at this point, when disaster, humiliation, defeat, and death, have been changed and transfigured into triumph and fame, I close the story of our 'Martyr, Maid, and King.'

NOTE I

HÆGELISDUN, which is equivalent to the down or hill of Hægel, but in Old English would correctly be written Hægelesdun, is the name given in Abbo, and we cannot 'go behind' this authority. If conjecture were permissible, it might be questioned whether Dunstan or Abbo had intended to say Haligesdun. The ancient name of Hollesley (which has extensive heaths marching with Sutton), as given in some maps, is Hellealey. There is also a place, called in Domesday

Halgestou, later Holstow, in or close to Sutton, and among the endowments of Eye Priory we find mention of Helegleye, which is clearly meant for Hellesley, and also Helegistow, which must be the same as Halgestou. The name Hægelsdun was the name not merely of a village, but of a forest and a 'water.' Thus Denis Pyramus writes:

'Le ham, le bois, le euwe de le,
Tut est Hailesdun apelle.'

It is not impossible that, when Dunstan was a boy, the original name of the region, perhaps the whole of the peninsula lying between the Deben and the Alde, had been lost, and had been replaced by a name which had direct reference to the capture and death of S. Edmund. The neighbourhood of Staverton forest may be indicated as corresponding well with the description of those events. Later, the more general name Haligesdun may have dropped into disuse, as we know was the case in course of time with the name Halgestou, and its abbreviated form Holstow.

NOTE II

As Ealhhere plays an important part in my attempt to dissect from the mass of traditions the genuine history of S. Edmund, some particulars of the grants referred to are here inserted.

The grant at Rochester is made by Æthelwulf, seu Æthelstan rex Kancie, and is dated 850. The operative words convey to 'Ealhhere humili atque dilecto principi meo' a property called "'Healve aker" in orientali plaga extra murum civitatis Hroffi in meridie parte.' (Kemble, *Codex*, vol. ii.)

The grant at Lenham is also dated 850, and is made by Adeluulfus occidentalium Saxonum Rex, who bestows 'aliquam partem juris mei' upon 'Alher meo Principi pro ejus humili obediencia . . . in villa quae nuncupatur Leanham, id est xi cassatos.' (Kemble, vol. ii. p. 46.)

A further grant was made in 853 of land at Elham in Kent. This grant is witnessed by Ethelbearht rex, and is remarkable as thus evidencing the death or abdication of Athelstan, and the ambitions of Ethelbert. It is witnessed also by Cialnothus, i.e. Ceolnoth the Archbishop, and Elfred fili regis, then a child four years old, and speaks of the grantee as 'meo fideli ministro pro ejus humili obediencia, et quia mihi in omnibus rebus semper fidelis minister extitit.'

In this place reference may also be made to a document printed in Kemble, vol. i. pp. 295-6, in which the names of Eadwald and Ealhburh occur with that of Ealawyn. The date is given as 831, or thereabouts. Eadwald is the name of a reputed brother of S. Edmund, who is said to have had also (along with Botild, Brictiva, and Urfequina) a sister named Wilgena. Is it conceivable that in Wilgena we have a Latinised form of Ealawyn, or Ealawynne?

As bearing on the division of Kent, Kemble, vol. ii. p. 19, may be consulted. Under date 844, in a recital of the synod of Aclea (Oakley), occur the words 'Osuulf dei gratia dux atque princeps provincie Orientalis Cantiae.' The document is witnessed by Alchere dux.

Respecting the chapels of S. Edmund in Rochester Cathedral and at Dartford the subjoined extracts may be of interest.

(1) As to Rochester. 'There is a chapel that has its name from S. Edmund, though the altar erected in honour of him was placed in the undercroft. The builder of this chapel and the time of its construction are unknown.' (*Customale Roffense*, p. 25.)

'On the east side of this isle (aisle), and south of the choir, leading to the chapter-room, is a square chapel usually called S. Edmund's Chapel. . . . From this chapel you descend into the undercroft. . . . There was an altar here dedicated to S. Edmund, built and well endowed by Geoffrey de Haddenham, which appears to have been of some considerable reputation.' (*History of Rochester*, W. Shrubsole and S. Denne, 1772, p. 61.)

In the *Registrum Roffense*, p. 125, there is given an interesting account of the construction and endowment of S. Edmund's altar :—

'Galfridus de Hadenham emit plures terras apud Darente, fecit altare Sancti Edmundi in criptis, et dedit redditum ad dictum altare provenientem de Darente, quia idem G. habuit Darente sicut Hadenham. Et quia in dispersione fuerunt apud Westmonasterium Rogerus de Sanford, et Willelmus de Cornubia, propter devocionem erga sanctum Edwardum, prædictum altare decoraverunt ornamentis, et ibidem Ymaginem Sancti Edwardi statuerunt. Hac de causa omnia ornamenta et luminaria dicti altaris inveniri debent a fratribus ibidem celebrantibus et nichil a sacristis.'

Probably the visit of Roger and William to S. Edward the Confessor's shrine in Westminster Abbey, close to which is S. Edmund's Chapel, resulted in the 'ornament,' described and figured at 165 of the

Customale, viz. two escutcheons, one charged with three crowns in pale, the other with a cross between five martlets. The three crowns were the badge of S. Edmund, the cross between the martlets was that of the Confessor.

(2) Of S. Edmund's Chapel at Dartford, the *Customale* (p. 104) has the subjoined record, 'Nearly in the center of the upper churchyard stood the chapel dedicated by S. Edmund, the king and martyr.' (P. 105): 'The road leading up to it is called S. Edmund's hill.'

There was close intercourse between Bury and Rochester early in the twelfth century, and the interest of Rochester in S. Edmund may be exemplified by the following passages kindly copied for me by Mr. Redstone from the *Registrum Cartarum Eccl. Roffensis, Cott. Dom. H. x. fol. 47A*: 'The second coming of the Danes. Osbright, king of Northumbria, dwelt at York. A certain Buern, whose wife the king had wronged, went to Godrin, king of Denmark, and persuaded him and the Danes to cross over to England and make war on the English, since Buern was related to Godrin. The Danes, led by two brothers, Hinguar and Ubbe, landed in "*le Northpays*" and came thro' the midst of Holderness to York, where they killed King Osbright and took the city. There was another king in Northumberland, named Elle, who went against the Danes, and was defeated near York. Then the Danes conquered the whole of Northumbria, etc., etc.'

Fol. 48A. Donqz ne lesserent onq's Daneis tanqz ils eurent occis t⁹quis tute Northumb'land t mistrent lor gardeins t passerët auât en la t're et pristrent Notingham t la soïfferent tut le June t firët touz les maux qils poïent t puis qut vint al este ils passeret de Notingham t pristrent Nichole, Lindeseie t tut Holand qar nul homie ne les porroit countreestere tant auoient ils gnt poer. Car passerent auant de pays en altre ardant, robbant t destruiant qils vindrent a Thefford t trouueret en cele paiis un roi crestien qi mult ama dieu qauoid anoun Edmund si fu Roi de Nortfolk t de Suffolk. Cesti roi assembla tant de poer co'me il auoit t se combatist od eux. Maisil (t?) sa gent feurent deconfistz t il memes fu chace a un chastel qil auoit en la t're t les pœins li suïuerent t vindrët a memes le chastel. Edmond le roi lor est encontreinte t fu le p'rimer od qi les daneis parlerent t demanderët ou le roi Edmūd estoit. veremet fait il qant ieo estoï el chastel, Edmūd y feu t ieo oueli. Et qnt ieo ment'nai dillueqz il senturna. Et sil vo' eschaperà ou noun ala volunte de dieu soit. Qnt les daneis appoevrent

quil noma dieu par tant sauoient ils qil mesmes fu le roi Edmūd. Et Hinguor t Ubbe li fesoient tantost prendre t li disoient qil reneiaist dieu t la loi crestiene tut ensement come plufors altres lauoiet fet. Edmond dist qe ce ne fetioit . il ne einz se lettoit il (?) tuver pu' dieu et pur sa lei. Donqz pristrēt ils le roi Edmūd et li lierent a un arbre et firent lor archers trere a li des seaces qe son corps fust ausi plein enfichi des seaces come est la pele del herisoun espesse des poignantes brochettes mais p'tute la peigne qil suffrist onqes ne voleit dieu reneier et en cele peine rendist a dieu salme. Et qant il fu mort il li couperent la teste . et illi fu le roi Edmūd martirize sicome plus pleinement est dist en lestoire de sa vie qom list en seint eglise.'

In the preparation of this volume I have received assistance in various ways from many persons. My thanks are due especially to the Comptroller of H.M.'s Stationery Office for unstinted permission to make use of the 'Rolls Series'; to the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, and to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, for facilities liberally afforded to me for the production of an accurate text of the earliest extant MS. of Galfridus de Fontibus, and of the unique MS. Romance of King Athelstone respectively; to Professor Skeat for permission to use the text and translation of Alfric's homily; to Mr. Grueber, of the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum, who has enabled me to give representations of typical coins of East Anglian kings (including King Edmund, and of Saint Edmund) in his keeping; to Sir John Evans for guidance in numismatic questions; to Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum for help of many kinds, but chiefly for a careful revision of the text of 'La Vie Seint Edmund le Rey' by Denis Pyramus; to Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge, for transcripts of the Hereford Cathedral MS. of Galfridus de Fontibus, and of the Latin poem and hymns by William of

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I have only to add that, having given the text of Wendover, I have not thought it necessary to print the accounts of S. Edmund furnished by Matthew Paris and the shadowy Matthew of Westminster, and Richard of Cirencester.

F. H.

June 1907.

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PART I
THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

A

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Rolls Series.

AN. DCCCLXVI. Her feng Æþered Æþelbryhtes broþur to Wesseaxna rice . 7 ƿy ilcan geare cuom micel (hæpen) here on Angelecyennes lond . 7 wini setl namon on Eastenglum . 7 ƿær gehorsude wurdon . 7 hie him friþ namon.

An. DCCCLXVII. Her fór se here of Eastenglum ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforwic ceastre on Norphymbre.

An. DCCCLXX. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan Eastengle . 7 wini setl namon æt ƿeodforda . 7 ƿy wini Eadmund cyning him wiþ feaht . 7 ƿa Deniscan sige namon . 7 ƿone cyning ofslogon . 7 ƿæt lond all geeodon . (7 forðiden ealle ƿa mynstre ƿa hi to comen.¹) (ƿara heauod manna naman ƿa ðane cing ofslogan wæran Ingware 7 Ubba.²)

¹ Bodl. Laud, 636.

² Cott. Domit. A. viii.

N.B.—In Bodl. Laud, 636, and in Cott. Domit. A. viii., the king is styled S^ce Eadmund.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

† *Ed. Thorpe, 1861.*

AN. DCCCLXVI. In this year Æthered (Æthelred), Æthelbryht's brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And in the same year came a great (heathen) army to the land of the Angle race, and took winter-quarters among the East Angles, and were there horsed; and they (the East Angles) made peace with them.

AN. DCCCLXVII. In this year the army went from the East Angles, over the mouth of the Humber, to York in Northumbria.

AN. DCCCLXX. In this year the army rode over Mercia into East Anglia, and took winter-quarters at Thetford; and in that winter King Eadmund fought against them, and the Danes gained the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all that land (and destroyed all the monasteries which they came to). (The names of the chiefs who slew the king were Ingvar and Ubba.)

ASSERIUS DE REBUS GESTIS ALFREDI

ANNO Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXVI., * * * magna paganorum classis de Danubia Britanniam advenit, et in regno Orientalium¹ Anglorum quod Saxonice 'East Engle' dicitur, hiemavit; ibique ille exercitus maxima ex parte equester factus est.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXVII., * * * praedictus paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum civitatem migravit.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXX., * * * supra memoratus paganorum exercitus per Merciam in Orientales Anglos transivit, et ibi in loco, qui dicitur Theodford, hiemavit. Eodem anno Eadmund, Orientalium Anglorum rex, contra ipsum exercitum atrociter pugnavit. Sed, proh dolor! paganis minimum gloriantibus, ipso cum magna suorum parte ibidem occiso, inimici loco funeris dominati sunt, et totam illam regionem suo dominio subdiderunt.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXI., * * * exosae memoriae paganorum exercitus Orientales Anglos deserens, et regnum Occidentalium Saxonum adiens, venit ad villam regiam, quae dicitur Raedigam.

¹ The text, apparently, has 'Saxonum' for 'Anglorum,' by an obvious mistake. See Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 19.

ASSER'S LIFE OF ALFRED

IN the year 866 from our Lord's Incarnation, * * * a great fleet of the heathen came to Britain from Denmark, and wintered in the kingdom of the East Anglians, which in Saxon speech is called 'East Engle'; and there the host was to a very great degree mounted.

In the year 867 from our Lord's Incarnation, * * * the aforesaid host of the heathen migrated from the country of the East Anglians to the city of York.

In the the year 870 from our Lord's Incarnation, * * * the above-mentioned host of the heathen passed through Mercia into the country of the East Anglians, and wintered there at a place which is called Thetford. That same year, Eadmund, the king of the East Anglians, fought with desperate valour against the host. But, alas! the heathen were above measure triumphant. The king was slain on the spot, with a great part of his followers; the enemy remained masters of the battlefield, and brought the whole of that region under their dominion.

In the year 871 from our Lord's Incarnation, * * * the host of the heathen, of hateful memory, quitted the country of the East Anglians, and, entering the kingdom of the West Saxons, arrived at the royal town which is called Reading.

ABBONIS FLORIANENSIS PASSIO SANCTI
EADMUNDI

Incipit epistola passionis sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris.

DOMINO sanctæ metropolitanæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ, archiepiscopo Dunstano, vere moribus et ætate maturo, Abbo Florianensis monachus levita, etsi indignus, a Christo Domino irriguum superius et irriguum inferius. Postquam a te, venerabilis pater, digressus sum cum multa alacritate cordis, et ad monasterium quod nosti festinus redii, cœperunt me obnixi hi cum quibus fraterna caritate detentus hospitando hactenus degui, pulsare manu sancti desiderii, ut mirabilium patratoris Eadmundi regis et martyris passionem litteris digererem, asserentes id posteris profuturum, tibi gratum, ac meæ parvitatæ apud Anglorum ecclesias non inutile monimentum. Audierant enim, quod eam pluribus ignotam, a nemine scriptam, tua sanctitas ex antiquitatis memoria collectam historialiter me præsentem retulisset domino Rofensis episcopo ecclesiæ, et abbati monasterii quod

THE PASSION OF SAINT EADMUND BY ABBO
OF FLEURY

*Here begins the Dedicatory Epistle accompanying the Passion of
Saint Eadmund, King and Martyr.*

FOR Dunstan, Lord Archbishop of the holy metropolitan Church of Canterbury, ripe, sooth to say, in character as in age, Abbo of Fleury, a monk in deacon's orders, though unworthy, bespeaks the dews of the blessing of Christ the Lord above and below. After I had departed from you, venerable father, with much cheerfulness of heart, and had returned with haste to the monastery that you wot of, the brethren, with whom, being detained by their fraternal kindness, I have hitherto been staying as a guest, began to press me urgently to comply with their saintly desire, that I would reduce to writing the Passion of the miracle-worker, Eadmund, king and martyr. This, they declared, would be edifying to future generations, and acceptable to you, as well as a serviceable memento of my humble self among the English churches. They had heard, indeed, that the story of this Passion, which is unknown to most people, and has been committed to writing by none, had been related by your Holiness, as collected from ancient tradition, in my presence, to the Lord Bishop of Rochester, and to the Abbot of the monastery which is called

dicitur Malinesberi, ac aliis circumassistentibus, sicut tuus mos est, fratribus, quos pabulo divini verbi Latina et patria lingua pascere non desinis. Quibus fatebaris, oculos suffusus lacrimis, quod eam junior didicisses a quodam sene decrepito, qui eam simpliciter et plena fide referebat gloriosissimo regi Anglorum Adelstano, jure-jurando asserens quod eadem die fuisset armiger beati viri qua pro Christo martyr occubuit. Cujus assertioni quia in tantum fidem accommodasti, ut promptuario memoriæ verba ex integro reconderes, quæ postmodum junioribus mellito ore eructares, cœperunt fratres instantius meæ pusillanimitati incumbere, ut eorum ferventi desiderio satisfacerem, ac pro virium facultate tantorum operum seriem perire non sinerem. Quorum petitioni cum pro sui reverentia nollem contradicere, posthabitis aliquantulum sæcularium litterarum studiis, quasi ad interiorem philosophiam animæ me contuli, dum ejus qui vere philosophatus est in throno regni virtutes scribere proposui, maxime tamen eas, quæ post ejus obitum, sæculis inauditæ, factæ sunt; quibus nemo crederet nisi eas tuæ assertionis irrefragabilis auctoritas roborasset. Siquidem tu, cui nix capitis credi compellit, quando referebas de ea quæ nunc est incorruptione regis, quidam diligentius inquisivit utrum hæc ita esse possent. Cujus quæstionis ambiguum

Malmesbury, and to other brethren then assembled in accordance with your practice, whom you cease not to nourish with the food of God's word, alike in the Latin and in the mother tongue. To them you averred, while the tears ran from your eyes, that you had in your youth learned the history from a broken-down veteran, who in relating it, simply and in good faith, to the most glorious English king, Athelstan, declared on his oath that, on the very day on which the martyr laid down his life for Christ's sake, he had been armour-bearer to the saintly hero. In view of the great reliance which you placed on the old man's assertions, and which led you to store up his words in their entirety in the receptacle of your memory, to be uttered at a later date with honeyed accents to a younger generation, the brethren insisted strongly, notwithstanding my diffidence, that I would satisfy their earnest desire, and to the best of my ability preserve from utter oblivion so important a series of events. I felt that I could not with due self-respect refuse their request, and therefore, postponing for the moment the study of secular literature, I betook myself as it were to the esoteric wisdom of the spirit, and undertook to describe the good deeds of the king, who addicted himself on the throne of his kingdom to the truest philosophy, but especially those which, unparalleled in the world's history, were wrought after his death; to which none would give credence were they not vouched for by the irrefragable authority of your assertion. In truth, when you, the snows of whose head compel belief, made mention of the still continuing incorruption of the king's body, one of those present anxiously raised the question whether such things were possible? In order to clear up the doubt involved in that

volens purgare, tu, magnæ peritiæ sacrarium, pro exemplo adjecisti, quod multo magis audientium attonita corda concussit, quia sanctus Domini Cuthbertus, incomparabilis confessor et episcopus, non solum adhuc expectat diem primæ resurrectionis incorrupto corpore, sed etiam perfusus quodam blando te[m]pore. Quod ego admirans pro argumento habui, quo tandem ad sancti regis gesta elucubrandæ certior accessi, fidens de ejus et tuis meritis incomparabilibus. Cui primitias mei laboris consecrans suppliciter obsecro, ut vel una die veritas mihi tuum otium in honestum negotium, resecando hinc superflua, supplendo hiantia, quoniam ex ore tuo, præter seriem ultimi miraculi, per omnia veracem secutus verax digessi, exhortans omnes ad amorem tanti martyris. Vale pater in Christo. *Explicit epistola.*

INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTI EADMUNDI REGIS
ET MARTYRIS

I. ASCITI aliquando in Britanniam munere precario in perniciosum auxilium tres Germaniæ populi, hoc est, Saxones, Juti, et Angli, primum Britonibus interdiu fuere præsidii. Qui cum sæpius bellis lacesciti se et suos defensarent fortiter, illi vero ignaviæ operam dantes quasi proletarii ad solam voluptatem domi residerent, fisci de invicta fortitudine stipendia-

question, you alleged, from the ample stores of your experience, the instance (which still more powerfully struck the astonished minds of your auditors) of Cuthbert, the Saint of the Lord, and incomparable Confessor and Bishop, who not only to this day awaits with body incorrupt the day of the first resurrection, but continues to be suffused with a gentle warmth. In this I found an admirable proof, which led me with more assurance to the careful relation of the holy king's actions, inspired as I was with full trust in his and your incomparable merits. And so, in dedicating to you the first fruits of my labour, I humbly beseech you to be so good as to bestow upon me, if it be but one day of your leisure in so worthy a cause, retrenching what is in excess, and supplying what is in defect, since, with the exception of the last miracle of the series, I have in every particular composed the narrative, as you delivered it, faithfully following a faithful informant, and exhorting all to the love of so eminent a martyr. Farewell, my Father in Christ.

Here ends the Epistle Dedicatory.

Here begins the Passion of Saint Eadmund, King and Martyr.

I. Summoned in times past to Britain to give, for a dubious reward, a fatal assistance, three tribes of Germany, namely, the Saxons, the Jutes, and the Angles, were at first and for a while protectors to the Britons. Involved in frequent wars, they defended themselves and their clients with courage; but as the latter were given over to sloth, and stayed at home, as might be expected of a proletariat, absorbed in pleasure alone, trusting to

reriorum militum quos sibi conduxerant, ipsos miseros indigenas domo patriaque pellere deliberant. Factumque est, et exclusis Britonibus statuunt inter se dividere victores alienigenæ insulam, bonis omnibus fecundissimam, indignum judicantes tam ignavorum dominio detineri, quæ ad defensionem suam idoneis posset præbere sufficientem alimoniam et optimis viris. Qua occasione inducti, orientalem ipsius insulæ partem, quæ usque hodie lingua Anglorum Eastengle vocatur, sortito nomine Saxones sunt adepti, Jutis et Anglis ad alia tendentibus, in quibus suæ sortis funiculo potirentur, ne esset cum sodalibus ullum de possessione litigium, quibus suppeteret amplitudo terræ ad regnandi emolumentum. Unde contigit ut per regiones et provincias divisa plurimis primum ducibus deinde regibus sufficeret una eademque Britannia.

II. At prædicta orientalis pars cum aliis tum eo nobilis habetur, quod aquis pæne undique alluitur, quoniam a sub-solano et euro cingitur oceano, ab aquilone vero immensarum paludum uligine, quæ exorientes propter æqualitatem terræ a meditullio ferme totius Britann[i]æ, per centum et eo amplius millia cum maximis fluminibus descendunt in mare. Ab ea autem parte qua sol vergitur in occasum, ipsa provincia reliquæ insulæ est contigua, et ob id pervia; sed ne crebra irruptione

the unconquered bravery of the hireling soldiery whom they had retained, the protectors took counsel for the expulsion from home and country of the wretched natives. And so it was done; the Britons were turned out, and the alien conquerors set to work to parcel out among themselves the island, replete, as it was, with wealth of every kind, on the ground that it was a shame that it should be retained under the rule of a lazy populace, when it might afford a competent livelihood to men of mettle who were fit to defend themselves. The occasion having thus arisen, the eastern part of the island, which, even to this day, is called 'Eastengle,' in the speech of the Angles, fell to the lot of the Saxons, while the Jutes and Angles parted in other directions, in which they could follow the clues of their own fortunes, so that there should be no controversy with their comrades as to their possessions, the country being spacious enough to satisfy the needs of their several dominions. Hence it came about that the single island of Britain was broken up into districts and provinces, and sufficed for a number, at first of leaders, and afterwards of kings.

II. But the above-mentioned eastern part attracts consideration for the following among other reasons, viz. that it is washed by waters on almost every side, girdled as it is on the south and east by the ocean, and on the north by an immense tract of marsh and fen, which starting, owing to the level character of the ground, from practically the midmost point of Britain, slopes for a distance of more than a hundred miles, intersected by rivers of great size, to the sea. But on the side where the sun sets, the province is in contact with the rest of the island, and on that account accessible; but as a bar to constant invasion

hostium incursetur, aggere adinstar altioris muri fossa humo præmunitur. Interius ubere gleba satis admodum læta, hortorum nemorumque amænitate gratissima, ferarum venatione insignis, pascuis pecorum et jumentorum non mediocriter fertilis. De piscosis fluminibus reticemus, cum hinc eam, ut dictum est, lingua maris allambit, inde, paludibus dilatatis, stagnorum ad duo vel tria millia spatiosorum innumerabilis multitudo præterfluit. Quæ paludes præbent pluribus monachorum gregibus optatos solitariæ conversationis sinus, quibus inclusi non indigeant solitudine eremi, ex quibus sunt sancti monachorum patris Benedicti cælibes cœnobitæ, in loco celebri hac tempestate.

III. Sed, ut ad propositum revertamur, huic provinciæ tam feraci præfuit sanctissimus Deoque acceptus Eadmundus, ex Antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia oriundus, a primævo suæ ætatis tempore cultor veracissimus fidei Christianæ. Qui atavis regibus editus, cum bonis polleret moribus, omnium comprovincialium unanimi favore non tantum eligitur ex generis successione, quantum rapitur, ut eis præesset sceptri-gera potestate. Nam erat ei species digna imperio, quam serenissimi cordis jugiter venustabat tranquilla devotio. Erat omnibus blando eloquio affabilis, humilitatis gratia præclarus, et inter suos cœvos mirabili mansuetudine residebat dominus, absque ullo fastu superbiæ. Jamque vir sanctus præferebat in

by an enemy, a foss sunk in the earth is fortified by a mound equivalent to a wall of considerable height. In the interior the soil is rich and extremely productive, and delightfully pleasant with its gardens and woods, while it is noted for its excellent sport, and for its abundant grazing for flocks and herds. I pass over its rivers, which abound in fish, as on one side, as has been mentioned, the country is lapped by the sea, and on the other, where the marshes are spread out, stretch after stretch of the fen waters, as much as two or three miles in breadth, trickles past. These marshes afford to not a few congregations of monks desirable havens of lonely life, in the seclusion of which solitude cannot fail the hermits, amongst whom may be mentioned the celibate and cœnobite monks of the order of the holy father Benedict, in a spot that has now gained celebrity.

III. But, to revert to our subject, over this fertile province reigned the most holy, and, in God's sight, acceptable Prince Eadmund. He was sprung from the noble stock of the Old Saxons, and from his earliest childhood cherished most sincerely the Christian faith. Descended from a line of kings, and endowed with a high character, he was, by the unanimous choice of all his fellow-provincials, not so much elected in due course of succession, as forced to rule over them with the authority of the sceptre. He was in truth of a comely aspect, apt for sovereignty; and his countenance continually developed fresh beauty through the tranquil devotion of his most serene spirit. To all he was affable and winning in speech, and distinguished by a captivating modesty; and he dwelt among his contemporaries with admirable kindness, though he was their lord, and without any touch of haughtiness or pride. The holy Eadmund did

vultu, quod postea manifestatum est divino nutu; quoniam puer toto conamine virtutis arripuit gradum quem divina pietas præsciebat martyrio finiendum.

IV. Nactus vero culmen regiminis, quantæ fuerit in subiectos benignitatis, quantæ in perversos distractionis, non est nostræ facultatis evolvere, qui ejus minima, quo conveniret sermone, non possumus expedire. Siquidem ita columbinæ simplicitatis mansuetudine temperavit serpentinae calliditatis astutiam, ut nec antiqui hostis deciperetur simulatione fraudulenta, nec malignorum hominum reciperet contra justitiam sententias, rem quam nesciebat diligentissime investigans; gradiensque via regia, nec declinabat ad dexteram, extollendo se de meritis, nec ad sinistram, succumbendo vitiis humanæ fragilitatis. Erat quoque egentibus dapsilis liberaliter, pupillis et viduis clementissimus pater, semper habens præ oculis dictum illud Sapientis: ¹ 'Principem te constituerunt! noli extolli, sed 'esto in illis quasi unus ex illis.' Cumque tam conspicuus in Christo et Ecclesia emereret bonorum actuum ornamentis, ejus patientiam, sicut et sancti Job, aggressus est experiri inimicus humani generis: qui eo bonis plus invidet, quo appetitu bonæ voluntatis caret.

¹ Ecclesiasticus xxxii. 1.

indeed already carry in his countenance what afterwards was made manifest by God's will ; since even as a boy he grasped with whole-hearted endeavour the ladder of virtue, the summit of which he was destined by God's mercy to reach by martyrdom.

IV. How beneficent he was in relation to his subjects, when he had been raised to the throne, and how strict in dealing with wrong-doers, it is beyond my abilities to describe ; indeed I could not in suitable language set forth even the least of his merits. It may be said that he so combined the gentleness and simplicity of the dove with the wariness and sagacity of the serpent, that he was neither deceived by the fraudulent pretences of the old enemy of mankind, nor sanctioned the iniquitous sophisms of evilly-minded men. Any matter of which he was ignorant he would investigate with the utmost industry ; and proceeding along the royal road, he deviated neither to the right through too exalted a notion of his own merits, nor to the left by falling a victim to the faults of human frailty. In addition, he was liberal in his bounty to those in want, and like a benignant father to the orphan and the widow. He ever kept in view the dictum of the wise man : ' Have they made you a prince ? be not exalted, but be among them as one of them.' And so eminently conspicuous was he in the face of Christ and of the Church, through the adornment of good deeds, that, as in the case of Saint Job, to test his patience became the aim of the enemy of the human race, who cherished a grudge against the good, which is all the deeper, because he lacks every impulse towards good-will.

V. Quocirca unum ex suis membris ei adversarium immisit, qui, omnibus quæ habuerat undique sublatiis, ad impatientiam, si posset, erumpere cogeret, ut desperans Deo in faciem benediceret. Fuit autem idem adversarius Inguar vocabulo dictus; qui cum altero, Hubba nomine, ejusdem perversitatis homine, nisi divina impediretur miseratione, conatus est in exterminium adducere totius fines Britanniae. Nec mirum, cum venerint indurati frigore suae malitiae ab illo terrae vertice, quo sedem suam posuit qui per elationem Altissimo similis esse concupivit. Denique constat, juxta prophetæ vaticinium, quod ab aquilone venit omne malum, sicut plus æquo didicere perperam passi adversos jactus cadentis tesserae, qui aquilonalium gentium experti sunt sævitiam. Quas certum est adeo crudeles esse naturali ferocitate, ut nesciant malis hominum mitescere; quandoquidem quidam ex eis populi vescuntur humanis carnibus, quo ex facto Græca appellatione antropofagi vocantur. Talesque nationes abundant plurimæ infra Scythiam, prope Hyperboreos montes, quæ antichristum, ut legimus, secuturæ sunt ante omnes gentes, ut absque ulla miseratione pascantur hominum cruciatibus, qui characterem bestiae noluerint circumferre in frontibus. Unde jam inquietando christicolæ pacem cum eis habere nequeunt, maxime Dani, occidentis regionibus nimium vicini, qui circa eas piraticam exercent frequentibus latrociniiis. Ex eorum ergo genere prædicti duces Inguar et

V. With this object he despatched one of his own satellites as an adversary to Eadmund, in the hope that, stripped of all his possessions, the king might be goaded into an outburst of impatience, and in despair curse God to His face. This adversary was known by the name of Inguar; and he, with another called Hubba, a man of equal depravity, attempted (and nothing but the divine compassion could have prevented them) to reduce to destruction the whole confines of Britain. And no wonder! seeing that they came hardened with the stiff frost of their own wickedness from that roof of the world where he had fixed his abode who in his mad ambition sought to make himself equal to the Most High. In fine it is proverbial, according to the prediction of the prophet, that from the north comes all that is evil, as those have had too good cause to know, who through the spite of fortune and the fall of the die have experienced the barbarity of the races of the north. These, it is certain, are so cruel by the ferocity of their nature, as to be incapable of feeling for the ills of mankind; as is shown by the fact that some of their tribes use human flesh for food, and from the circumstance are known by the Greek name Anthropophagists. Nations of this kind abound in great numbers in Scythia, near the Hyperborean Mountains, and are destined, as we read, more than all other races, to follow Antichrist, and to batten without compunction on the agonies of men who refuse to bear on their foreheads the mark of the beast. Hence it results that they can observe no truce in harrying the worshippers of Christ, and this is true especially of the Danes, who, dwelling fatally near to the western regions, indulge continually in piratical raids upon them. Of this nation were the generals Inguar and Hubba, whom I have

Hubba, Northanimbrorum primitus aggressi expugnare provinciam, gravi depopulatione totam pervagantur ex ordine. Quorum pessimis conatibus nullus resistere potuit ex provincialibus quin multarentur merita supernæ indignationis ira, agente ministro iniquitatis Hubba. Quem, præda facta, Inguar reliquit ibi crudelitatis soeium, et a boreali parte orientali subito astans cum magna classe ad ejus quamdam civitatem latenter appulit, quam ignaris civibus ingressus ignibus cremandam dedit. Pueros, senes cum junioribus, in plateis civitatis obviam factos jugulat, et matronalem seu virginalem pudicitiam ludibrio tradendam mandat. Maritus cum conjuge aut mortuus aut moribundus jacebat in limine; infans raptus a matris uberibus, ut major esset ejulatus, trucidabatur coram maternis obtutibus. Furebat impius miles lustrata urbe ardendo ad flagitium, quo posset placere tyranno qui solo crudelitatis studio jusserat perire innoxios.

VI. Cumque jam multitudine interfectorum Achimeniam rabiem impiissimus Inguar non tantum exsaturasset, quantum fatigatus in posterum distulisset, evocat quosdam plebeios quos suo gladio credidit esse indignos, ac ubi rex eorum tunc temporis vitam degeret, sollicitus perscrutator investigare studet. Nam ad eum fama pervenerat, quod idem rex gloriosus, videlicet Eadmundus, florenti ætate et robustis viribus bello per omnia, esset strenuus; et idcirco festinabat passim tradere neci quos circumquaque poterat reperire, ne stipatus militum agmine

mentioned above. They set out in the first instance to attack the province of Northumbria, and overran the whole district from one end to the other, inflicting upon it the heaviest devastation. None of the inhabitants could resist these abominable onslaughts, but suffered the too well merited chastisement of the divine wrath through the instrumentality of Hubba the agent of iniquity. Having raked together their booty, Inguar left on the spot Hubba, his associate in cruelty, and approaching (East Anglia) suddenly with a great fleet, landed by stealth at a city in that region, entered it before the citizens were aware of his approach, and set it on fire. Boys, and men old and young, whom he encountered in the streets of the city were killed; and he paid no respect to the chastity of wife or maid. Husband and wife lay dead or dying together on their thresholds; the babe snatched from its mother's breast was, in order to multiply the cries of grief, slaughtered before her eyes. An impious soldiery scoured the town in fury, athirst for every crime by which pleasure could be given to the tyrant who from sheer love of cruelty had given orders for the massacre of the innocent.

VI. At length when the impious Inguar had slain such numbers that he had, I will not say satisfied his Achimenian madness, but from weariness deferred for a while its complete gratification, he summoned a few poor wretches whom he judged to be not worth killing, and by searching cross-examination of them endeavoured to ascertain whereabouts their king was at that time residing. It seems that a report had reached him that the glorious King Eadmund, who was in the prime of life, and in the fulness of vigour, was a keen soldier. On this account Inguar made it his business to cut off all the men whom

ad defensionem suorum posset rex sibi resistere. Qui morabatur eo tempore ab urbe longius, in villa quæ lingua eorum Hægelsdun dicitur, a qua et silva vicina eodem nomine vocatur, existimans impiissimus, ut se rei veritas habebat, quia quantos suos satelles funestus præocuparet ad interitum perducere, tantos, si dimicandum esset, regius occursus in exercitum contraheret minus. Classem quoque absque valida manu deserere non audebat, quoniam, velut lupis vespertinis mos est clanculo ad plana descendere, repetitis quantocius noctis silvarum latibulis, sic consuevit eadem Danorum et Alanorum natio; cum semper studeat rapto vivere, numquam tamen indicta pugna palam contendit cum hoste, nisi præventa insidiis, ablata spe ad portus navium remeandi.

VII. Quapropter circumspectus plurimum, accito uno ex commilitonibus, eum ad regem hujusmodi curarum tumultibus expeditum dirigit, qui exploret quæ sit ei summa rei familiaris, improvisum, ut contigit, quærens subjugare tormentis, si ejus nollet obtemperare feralibus edictis. Ipse cum grandi comitatu succenturiatus lento pede subsequitur, et iniquæ legationis bajulo imperat, ut timoris periculo nudus ita incautum adori-

he could find round about, so that the king, deprived of the support of a compact force for the defence of his kingdom, should be unable to offer effective resistance. Eadmund, it happened, was at that time staying at some distance from the city, in a township which in the native language is called Hægelsdun, from which also the neighbouring forest is called by the same name. The monster of impiety calculated, as was indeed the truth, that whatever number of the natives his murderous minions could succeed in destroying, so many the less would there be, if it came to a pitched battle, for the king to lead against his foes. Moreover, Inguar did not venture to leave his fleet without a strong guard; for, just as the wolf is accustomed to steal in the evening down to the plains, and to return with haste by night to his lair in the woods, so it was the practice of the Danish and Alanic people, always intent upon a career of theft, never to risk an open and fair fight with their enemies, unless through being entangled in an ambush they had lost all hope of regaining their ships in harbour.

VII. Accordingly, with excessive caution he summoned one of his array, and despatched him to the king, who was devoid of any such harassing anxiety, with orders to ascertain the amount of his possessions, hoping to take him unawares, as in fact happened, and to daunt him by tortures if he should refuse to comply with the murderous demands of the Dane. Inguar, accompanied by a great throng, followed in support with leisurely steps. He had given orders to the agent of this wicked mission, thus relieved of all apprehension of danger, to accost the unsuspecting king as follows:—‘My august

atur. 'Terra marique metuendus dominus noster Inguar, rex
' invictissimus, diversas sibi terras subjiciendo armis ad hujus
' provinciæ optatum litus cum multis navibus hyematurus
' appulit, atque idcirco mandat ut cum eo antiquos thesauros
' et paternas divitias sub eo regnaturus divides. Cujus si
' aspernaris potentiam innumeris legionibus fultam, tuo præ-
' judicio et vita indignus judicaberis et regno. Et quis tu,
' ut tantæ potentiæ insolenter audeas contradicere? Marinæ
' tempestatis procella nostris servit remigiis, nec removel a
' proposito directæ intentionis quibus nec ingens mugitus
' cœli nec crebri jactus fulminum unquam nocuerunt, favente
' gratia elementorum. Esto itaque cum tuis omnibus sub hoc
' imperatore maximo cui famulantur elementa, quoniam novit
' piissimus in omni negotio pa[r]cere subjectis et debellare
' superbos.'

VIII. Quo audito, rex sanctissimus alto cordis dolore in-
gemuit, et accito uno ex suis episcopis qui erat ei a secretis,
quid super his respondere deberet consulit. Cumque ille,
timidus pro vita regis, ad consentiendum plurimis hortaretur
exemplis, rex obstupuit, et capitis defixo lumine in terras
paululum conticuit, et sic demum ora resolvit. 'O episcope,
' vivi ad id pervenimus quod numquam veriti sumus. Ecce
' barbarus advena districto ense veteribus regni nostri colonis

master, and unconquerable sovereign Inguar, a terror by land and sea, having by force of arms brought divers countries into subjection to himself, has landed with a great fleet on the desirable shores of this territory with the intention of fixing his winter-quarters here, and in pursuance thereof commands you to share with him your ancient treasures, and your hereditary wealth, and to reign in future under him. But if you hold in contempt his power, which is fortified by innumerable battalions, it will be to your own prejudice, as you will be accounted unworthy to live or to reign. And who are you that you should presume to oppose so great a power? The storms and tempests of the deep subserve the purpose of our fleets; and cannot turn from the accomplishment of their settled intentions men who, by grace and favour of the elements, have never suffered injury from the awful thunders of heaven, or from the oft-repeated lightning flash. Submit therefore with all your people to this greatest of monarchs whom the elements obey, since he is prepared in his great clemency in all that he undertakes,

“To spare the meek, while he o’erwhelms the proud.”

VIII. On hearing this, the most saintly king groaned in profound grief of mind, and hailing one of his bishops, who was his confidential adviser, consulted with him as to the answer which was proper to be returned to the demands preferred. The bishop, alarmed for the safety of the king, used a number of arguments in favour of compliance; but the king, staggered by such advice, and fixing his eyes on the ground, was silent for a little while. Then finally he spoke his mind as follows: ‘Bishop, I have reached a point in my life of which I never had any apprehension. See! a barbarous stranger with

‘ imminet, et quondam felix indigena suspirando gemens tacet.
‘ Et utinam impræsentiarum vivendo quique gement ne
‘ cruenta cæde perirent, quatenus patriæ dulcibus arvis etiam
‘ me occumbente superstites fierent, et ad pristinæ felicitatis
‘ gloriam postmodum redirent.’ Cui episcopus, ‘ Quos,’ inquit,
‘ optas esse superstites patriæ, cum hostilis jam gladius vix ali-
‘ quem reliquerit in plana urbe? Hebetatis securibus tuorum
‘ cadaveribus, te destitutum milite veniunt loris constringere.
‘ Quapropter, rex, dimidium animæ meæ, nisi fugæ præsidio aut
‘ deditiois infausto patrocínio præcaveas, hic statim aderunt
‘ tortores, quorum nefando obsequio poenam lues.’ ‘ Hoc est,’
ait, ‘ quod desidero, quod omnibus votis antepono, ne supersim
‘ meis fidelibus karissimis, quos cum liberis et uxoribus in
‘ lecto eorum animas furando perdidit pirata truculentus. Et
‘ quid suggeris? ut in extremis vitæ, desolatus meo satellite,
‘ fugiendo inferam crimen nostræ gloriæ. Semper delatoriæ
‘ accusationis calumpniam evitavi; numquam relictæ militiæ
‘ probra sustinui, eo quod honestum mihi esset pro patria mori;
‘ et nunc ero mei voluntarius proditor, cui pro amissione car-
‘ orum ipsa lux est fastidio? Omnipotens rerum arbiter testis
‘ assistit, quod me seu vivum seu mortuum nichil separabit a
‘ caritate Christi, cujus in confessione baptismatis suscepi
‘ annulum fidei abrenunciato Sathana et omnibus pompis ejus.

drawn sword menaces the old occupants of my realm, and the once prosperous natives are reduced to sighs and groans and silence. Would that those who now live in dread of perishing by a bloody death might be spared to survive amid the beloved fields of their country, even though I should fall, and that they might in course of time be restored to the brightness of their former prosperity.' Here the bishop interposed: 'How can you speak of survivors in the land, seeing that the enemy's sword has left scarcely one alive in the whole city? Their axes are blunted with the slaughter of your subjects; you are left without a guard, and they will bind you fast with thongs. And therefore, my sovereign, dear to me as my soul, unless you seek safety in flight, or have recourse to the ill-omened alternative of surrender, I fear the tormentors will soon arrive, and you will forfeit your life through the unholy execution of their orders.' 'That,' answered the king, 'is what I desire; that is my dearest wish, not to survive my loyal and dear subjects, who have been bereft of their lives and massacred with their children and their wives as they lay in bed, by a bloodthirsty brigand. And what do you advise? that in life's extremity, bereft of my comrades, I should besmirch my fair fame by taking to flight? I have always avoided the calumnious accusations of the informer; never have I endured the opprobrium of fleeing from the battlefield, realising how glorious it would be for me to die for my country; and now I will of my own free will surrender myself, for the loss of those dear to me has made light itself hateful. The Almighty disposer of events is present as my witness that, whether I live or die, nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ, the ring of whose faith I took on me in the sacrament of baptism, when I renounced Satan and all his vanities. And

‘ Qua abrenuntiatione contigit, ut ad laudem et gloriam
‘ æternæ Trinitatis tertio mererer consecrari, delibutus ob
‘ compendium perennis vitæ sanctificati crismatis perunctione.
‘ Primo quidem accepta stola lavacri salutaris, secundo per
‘ confirmationem exhibitam majusculo pontificali signaculo,
‘ tertio ubi vestra et totius populi communi acclamatione usus
‘ sum hac regni perfunctoria potestate. Sicque unguento
‘ mysticæ consecrationis tripliciter irroratus, Anglorum rei-
‘ publicæ decrevi plus prodesse quam præesse, aspernando
‘ subdere colla jugo nisi divino servitio. Nunc simulata
‘ benivolentia prætendit callidus suæ machinationis muscipu-
‘ lam, qua servum Christi irretiri deliberat, maxime cum
‘ promittit quod nobis largitas divina concessit. Vitam in-
‘ dulget, qua necdum careo; regnum promittit quod habeo;
‘ opes conferre cupit, quibus non egeo. Pro his ergo nunc
‘ incipiam servire duobus dominis, qui me sub Christo solo
‘ vivere, sub Christo solo regnare, præsentibus palatinis
‘ devoverim ?’

IX. Tunc conversus ad eum qui de conditione regni locu-
turus ab impiissimo Inguar fuerat missus, ‘ Madefactus,’ inquit,
‘ cruore meorum mortis supplicio dignus extiteras; sed plane
‘ Christi mei exemplum secutus nolo puras commaculare
‘ manus, qui pro ejus nomine, si ita contigerit, libenter paratus
‘ sum vestris telis occumbere. Ideo pernici gradu rediens

by that renunciation it ensued that I gained a triple title to be devoted to the praise and glory of the Eternal Trinity, having been cleansed with a view to the reward of endless life by the anointing of the consecrated chrism. Firstly, to wit, I put on the robes proper for the font of healing; in the second place, I received confirmation with the larger episcopal signet; and thirdly, by general acclaim of yourself and the people at large, I acquired the sovereign power of this realm. And thus bedewed in threefold manner with the ointment of mystic consecration, I have determined to be the benefactor rather than the ruler of the English Commonwealth, in scorning to bow my neck to any yoke but that of the service of God. It is with a mere pretence of good-will that my cunning foe now spreads the meshes of his machinations, by which he calculates on ensnaring the servant of Christ, above all when he promises that which the divine bounty has already conferred upon me. He allows me life, for which I no longer care; he promises me a kingdom, that I already possess; he would bestow on me riches, of which I have no need. Is it for these things that I am now to begin serving two masters—I who have dedicated myself before my whole court to live and to rule under Christ alone?

IX. Then, turning to the messenger whom the impious Inguar had sent to announce the terms on which his kingdom might be retained, Eadmund exclaimed: 'Reeking as you are with the blood of my countrymen, you might justly be doomed to death; but to speak plainly, I would follow the example of Christ my Lord, and refrain from staining my pure hands; and for his name's sake, if the need arise, I am willing and glad to perish by your weapons. Therefore return as fast as you can at once

‘ festinus domino tuo hæc responsa perfer quantocius. Bene,
‘ fili diaboli, patrem tuum imitaris, qui superbiendo intumes-
‘ cens cœlo corrui, et mendacio suo humanum genus involvere
‘ gestiens, plurimos pœnæ suæ obnoxios fecit. Cujus sectator
‘ præcipuus, me nec minis terrere præuales, nec blandæ per-
‘ ditionis lenociniis illectum decipies, quem Christi institutis
‘ non inermem repperies. Thesaurus et divitias quas nobis
‘ hactenus contulit propitia divinitas, sumat consumatque tua
‘ insatiabilis aviditas, quoniam etsi hoc corpus caducum fragile
‘ confringas velut vas fictile, vera libertas animi numquam tibi
‘ vel ad momentum suberit. Honestius enim est perpetuum
‘ defendere libertatem, si non armis saltem jugulis, quam
‘ reposcere amissam lacrimosis querimoniis, quoniam pro altero
‘ gloriosum est mori, pro altero vero opponitur contumacia
‘ servilis. Quippe servus, quascumque domini condiciones
‘ accepit, acceptas servare convenit; si eas quamlibet iniquas
‘ respuit, reus majestatis adjudicatur servilibus suppliciis. Sed
‘ esto; gravis est hujus servitutis usus; at gravior exulceratio
‘ quæ solet nasci ex hujusmodi infortunio; siquidem, ut
‘ noverunt qui frequentius ratiocinando forensibus causis in-
‘ tersunt, ex repugnantibus facta complexionis consequentia,
‘ certum est quia, si libertas petitur, proculdubio dominus suo
‘ contemptu læditur. Idcirco, seu sponte seu invitus, de carcere
‘ suo meus ad cœlum evolet liber spiritus, nulla emancipationis
‘ aut abalienationis specie contaminatus, quia regem diminutum

to your lord, and take forthwith this message to him : "Son of the devil, well do you imitate your father, who through his swelling pride fell from heaven, and striving to involve mankind in his falseness, rendered multitudes liable to his punishment. You, his chief follower, are powerless to terrify me by threats, nor shall you deceive me with the snares and sophistries that inveigle to destruction, for you will not find me lacking the armour of Christian principles. As for the treasures and the wealth, which till now God's favour has bestowed on me, take and squander them as your insatiable greed may prompt, since, even though you should break in pieces this frail and perishable body, like a potter's vessel, my soul, which is truly free, will never for a moment submit to you. For it is more honourable to champion the cause of perpetual freedom, if not with arms, at any rate with life, than to spend tearful complaints in redemanding it when lost, since in the one case death is glorious, but in the other the opposition is but the rebellion of slaves. That is to say, a slave, whatever terms he may have accepted at the hands of his master, is bound to observe them as he accepted them ; if he repudiates them, iniquitous though they may be, he is guilty of treason, and is liable to the punishment of a slave. But enough ; grievous as may be the burden of such a servitude, still more grievous is the rankling sore which misfortune of this kind usually begets, seeing that, as is within the knowledge of those who, as advocates, are practised in the discussion of cases in the law-courts, when a conclusion is deduced from repugnant circumstances, it is certain that, if freedom be aimed at, the tyrant is undoubtedly prejudiced by contempt of himself. Consequently, willingly or unwillingly, let my free spirit wing its way from its prison to heaven, untainted by any appearance of sale or surrender ; for

‘capite nunquam, Danus, videbis ad triumphum supervivere.
‘Sollicitas me spe regni, interfectis omnibus meis, ac si mihi
‘tam dira sit cupido regnandi, ut velim præesse domibus
‘vacuis habitatore nobili et pretiosa suppellectili. Ut tæpit
‘tua sæva feritas, post famulos regem solio diripiat, trahat,
‘exspuat, colaphis cædat, ad ultimum jugulet. Rex regum
‘ista miserans videt, et secum ut credo regnaturum ad æternam
‘vitam transferet. Unde noveris quod pro amore vitæ tem-
‘poralis Christianus rex Eadmundus non se subjiciet pagano
‘duci, nisi prius effectus fueris compos nostræ religionis, malens
‘esse signifer in castris æterni regis.’

X. Vix sanctus vir verba compleverat, et renuntiaturus miles
pedem domo extulerat, cui ecce Inguar obvius jubet breviloquio
ut utatur, illi pandens per omnia arcana regis ultima. Quæ ille
dum exequitur, imperat tyrannus circumfundi omnem turbam
suorum exterius, solumque regem teneant, quem suis legibus
rebellem jam cognoverat. Tunc sanctus rex Eadmundus in
palatio, ut membrum Christi, projectis armis capitur, et vinculis
arctioribus arctatus constringitur, atque innocens sistitur ante
impium ducem quasi Christus ante Pilatum præsidem, cupiens
ejus sequi vestigia, qui pro nobis immolatus est hostia. Vincetus
itaque multis modis illuditur, et tandem, fustigatus acri instantia,

be assured, Dane, you shall never see me, a king, survive the loss of freedom to adorn your triumph. You ply me with expectations of a continued reign, after the slaughter of all my people, as if I were possessed by so mad a lust of rule, that I could have the heart to reign over houses emptied of their noble inhabitants : their precious garniture. Let your savage ferocity go on as it has begun : after the subjects let the king be snatched from his throne, dragged away, spat upon, struck and buffeted, and finally butchered. The King of kings sees all that with compassion, and will, I am confident, translate the victim to reign with him in life eternal. Know, therefore, that for the love of this earthly life Eadmund, the Christian king, will not submit to a heathen chief, unless you first become a convert to our religion ; he would rather be a standard-bearer in the camp of the Eternal King.”

X. The saintly man had but just ended his speech, and the soldier taken his departure from the palace to carry back the answer, when, behold ! Inguar met him, and bade him waste no words in declaring the final purport of the king's reply. As the messenger obeyed this behest, the tyrant ordered the crowd of his attendants to form a ring round the place, and to take the king alone prisoner, as showing palpable defiance of the conditions laid down. Then the holy King Eadmund was taken in his palace, as a member of Christ, his weapons thrown aside, and was pinioned and tightly bound with chains, and in his innocence was made to stand before the impious general, like Christ before the governor Pilate, and eager to follow in the footsteps of Him who was sacrificed as a victim for us. And so in chains he was mocked in many ways, and at length, after

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perducitur ad quamdam arborem vicinam, ad quam religatus flagris dirissimis diutissime vexatur, nec vincitur, semper Christum invocando flebilibus vocibus. Quare adversarii in furorem versi, quasi ludendo ad signum eum toto corpore sagittarum telis confodiunt, multiplicantes acerbitatem cruciatus crebris telorum jactibus, quoniam vulnera vulneribus imprimebant, dum jacula jaculis locum dabant. Sicque factum est ut spiculorum terebratis aculeis circumfossus palpitans horreret, velut asper hericius, aut spinis hirtus carduus, in passione similis Sebastiano egregio martyri. Cumque nec sic Inguar furcifer eum lanistis assensum præbere conspiceret, Christum inclamantem jugiter, lictori mandat protinus ut amputet caput ejus. Ille seminecem, cui adhuc vitalis calor palpitabat in tepido pectore, ut vix posset subsistere, avellit cruento stipiti festinus, avulsumque, resectis costarum latebris præ punctionibus crebris, ac si raptum eculeo aut sævis tortum ungulis, jubet caput extendere quod semper fuerat insigne regali diademate. Cumque staret, mitissimus, ut aries de toto grege electus, volens felici commercio mutare vitam sæculo, divinis intentus beneficiis, jam recreabatur visione internæ lucis, qua in agone positus satiari cupiebat attentius. Unde inter verba orationis eum arrepto pugione spiculator uno ictu decapitando

being savagely beaten, he was brought to a tree in the neighbourhood, tied to it, and for a long while tortured with terrible lashes. But his constancy was unbroken, while without ceasing he called on Christ with broken voice. This roused the fury of his enemies, who, as if practising at a target, pierced his whole body with arrow-spikes, augmenting the severity of his torment by frequent discharges of their weapons, and inflicting wound upon wound, while one javelin made room for another. And thus, all haggled over by the sharp points of their darts, and scarce able to draw breath, he actually bristled with them, like a prickly hedgehog or a thistle fretted with spines, resembling in his agony the illustrious martyr Sebastian. But when it was made apparent to the villainous Inguar that not even by these means could the king be made to yield to the agents of his cruelty, but that he continued to call upon the name of Christ, the Dane commanded the executioner to cut off his head forthwith. The king was by this time almost lifeless, though the warm life-stream still throbbed in his breast, and he was scarcely able to stand erect. In this plight he was hastily wrenched from the blood-stained stem, his ribs laid bare by numberless gashes, as if he had been put to the torture of the rack, or had been torn by savage claws, and was bidden to stretch forth the head which had ever been adorned by the royal diadem. Then, as he stood in all his meekness, like a ram chosen out of the whole flock, and desirous of hastening by a happy exchange this life for eternity, absorbed as he was in the mercies of God, he was refreshed by the vision of the light within, for the satisfaction of which he earnestly yearned in his hour of agony. Thus, while the words of prayer were still on his lips, the executioner, sword in hand, deprived the king of life, striking off his head with a

hac luce privavit. Atque ita, duodecimo kalendas Decembris, Deo gratissimum holocaustum Eadmundus, igne passionis examinatus, cum palma victoriæ et corona justitiæ, rex et martyr intravit senatum curiæ coelestis.

XI. Talique exitu crucis mortificationem, quam jugiter in suo corpore rex pertulit, Christi Domini sui secutus vestigia consummavit. Ille quidem, purus sceleris, in columna ad quam vinctus fuit sanguinem, non pro se sed pro nobis, flagellorum suorum signa reliquit; iste pro adipiscenda gloria immarcessibili cruento stipite similes poenas dedit. Ille integer vitæ ob detergendam rubiginem nostrorum facinorum sustinuit benignissimus immanium clavorum acerbiter in palmis et pedibus; iste propter amorem nominis Domini toto corpore gravibus sagittis horridus, et medullitus asperitate tormentorum dilaniatus, in confessione patienter perstitit, quam ad ultimum accepta capitali sententia finivit. Cujus corpus ita truncum et aculeis hirsutum relinquentes, cum suo auctore Dani, ministri diaboli, illud caput sanctum, quod non impinguaverat peccatoris oleum, sed certi mysterii sacramentum, in silvam cui vocabulum est Haglesdun recedentes asportaverunt, ac inter densa veprium fruticeta longius projectum occuluerunt, id omni sagacitate elaborantes, ne a Christianis, quos vix paucos reliquerant, sacratissimum

single blow. And so, on the 20th November, as an offering to God of sweetest savour, Eadmund, after he had been tried in the fire of suffering, rose with the palm of victory and the crown of righteousness, to enter as king and martyr the assembly of the court of heaven.

XI. Thus in his departure from life, the king, following the footsteps of Christ his master, consummated that sacrifice of the Cross which he had endured continually in the flesh. Just as Christ, free from all taint of sin, left on the column to which he was bound, not for himself, but for us, the blood which was the mark of his scourging, so Eadmund incurred a like penalty bound to the blood-stained tree, for the sake of gaining a glory that fades not away. Christ, whose life was without stain, suffered in his great benignity the bitter pain of unmerciful nails in his hands and feet in order to cleanse away the foulness of our sins; Eadmund, for the love of the holy Name, with his whole body bristling with grievous arrows, and lacerated to the very marrow by the acutest tortures, steadfastly persisted in the avowal of his faith which in the end he crowned by undergoing the doom of death. The Danes, with their instigator, instruments of the devil, left his body mutilated, as has been described, and transfixing with javelins, while the sacred head, which had been anointed not with the oil of sinners, but with the sacramental chrism of mystery, was carried by them as they retired into a wood, the name of which is Haglesdun, and was thrown as far as possible among the dense thickets of brambles, and so hidden; the Danes contriving this with the greatest cunning, so that the Christians, but few of whom were left alive, should not be able to commit to such decent burial as

corpus martyris cum capite pro tumultantium modulo honestæ traderetur sepulturæ.

XII. Huic autem spectaculo tam horribili quidam nostræ religionis delitescendo interfuit, quem subtractum, ut credimus, paganorum gladiis divina providentia ad manifestandum hujus rei indaginem reservavit, licet omnino ignoraverit quid de capite factum esset, nisi quod cum eo carnifices Danos interiorem silvam petere conspexisset. Quamobrem, quantulumcumque reddita ecclesiis pace, cœperunt Christiani de latibulis consurgere, diligenti inquisitione satagentes ut caput sui regis et martyris inventum reliquo corpore unirent, et juxta suam facultatem condigno honore reconderent. Siquidem, paganis abeuntibus et depopulationi quoquo locorum operam dantibus, illud corpus sanctissimum adhuc sub divo positum facillime est repertum in eodem campo ubi rex occubuit, completo cursu sui certaminis. Quo, propter antiquam beneficiorum memoriam et ingenitam regis clementiam, populi undique confluentes, cœperunt mœsto animo graviter ferre quod caruissent tanta corporis portione. Quorum animis superna inspiravit benignitas, postquam audierunt illius verba utilia, qui tantæ visionis, ut dictum est, particeps extiterat, ut collecta plurima multitudo quaquaversum per invia silvarum experirentur, si ad id loci devenire contingeret, quo viri sancti caput jaceret. Pro certo etenim omnibus vere sapientibus inerat, quod alienæ sectæ cultores invi-

their limited means of interment would allow, the sanctified body of the martyr conjoined with the head.

XII. Of this appalling scene there was present as a spectator, though in hiding, one of our religion, who was rescued, as I believe, by God's providence from the swords of the heathen, and so preserved to bring to light the traces of these events, although he was entirely ignorant what had been done with the head, beyond the fact that he had seen the Danes betaking themselves with it into the depths of the wood. Accordingly, when peace of some sort had been restored to the churches, the Christians began to emerge from their hiding-places, and to make diligent and busy search with the intention of joining the head of their king and martyr, when found, to the rest of the body, and laying them to rest with due honour according to their means. And so, on the departure of the heathen, who engaged in the work of devastation elsewhere, the sacred body, still lying above ground, was with no difficulty found in the very field where the king died, when he finished the course of his trial. Thither, spurred by the recollection of former benefits, and of the gentle nature of their king, the populace, coming together from all directions, began with rueful hearts to lament the loss of so important a part of the body. Inspiration came by benign suggestion from above; and, after listening to the helpful narrative of the witness who had, as I have said, been a witness of the dreadful scene, they united in great numbers to institute a search in every part of the wood's recesses, in the hope of reaching by hazard the spot where the head of their holy hero was lying. All who were possessed of true insight were confident that the Danes, as worshippers of strange gods,

dendo nostræ fidei sustulissent caput martyria, quod non longius infra densitatem saltus abscondissent, aut vili cespite obrutum avibus aut feris devorandum reliquissent. Cumque inîto consilio omnes pari affectu ad id concurrerent, decreverunt ut cornibus vel tubis ductilibus singuli contenti essent, quatenus circumcirca pervagantes vocibus aut tubarum strepitu sibi mutuo innuerent, ne aut lustrata repeterent aut non lustrata desererent.

XIII. Quod ut factum est, res dictu mirabilis et sæculis inaudita contigit. Quippe caput sancti regis, longius remotum a suo corpore, prorupit in vocem absque fibrarum opitulatione, aut arteriarum præcordiali munere. Vispillonum sane more pluribus pedetentim in via perlustrantibus, cum jam posset audiri loquens, ad voces se invicem cohortantium, et utpote socii ad socium alternatim clamantium, Ubi es ? illud respondebat, designando locum, patria lingua dicens, *Her, her, her*. Quod interpretatum Latinus sermo exprimit, *Hic, hic, hic*. Nec umquam eadem repetendo clamare destitit, quoad omnes ad se perduxit. Palpitabat mortuæ linguæ plectrum infra mœnia faucium, manifestans in se Verbigenæ magnalia, qui rudenti asellæ humana compegit verba, ut increparet prophetæ insipientiam. Cui miraculo rerum conditor illud annexuit, dum

had out of spite to our faith abstracted the head of the martyr, which they had probably hidden not very far away in the dense thicket, and had left concealed by the coarse undergrowth a prey to birds and beasts. A council was held, and all unanimously agreed upon a plan ; it was decided that each individual should be accoutred with horn or pipe, so that the searchers, in their explorations hither and thither, could by calling or by the noise of their instruments signal one to another, and so avoid going twice over the same ground, or missing some localities altogether.

XIII. When they carried out this plan, a thing happened marvellous to relate, and unheard of in the course of ages. The head of the holy king, far removed from the body to which it belonged, broke into utterance without assistance from the vocal chords, or aid from the arteries proceeding from the heart. A number of the party, like corpse-searchers, were gradually examining the out-of-the-way parts of the wood, and when the moment had arrived at which the sound of the voice could be heard, the head, in response to the calls of the search-party mutually encouraging one another, and as comrade to comrade crying alternately 'Where are you ?' indicated the place where it lay by exclaiming in their native tongue, Here ! Here ! Here ! In Latin the same meaning would be rendered by Hic ! Hic ! Hic ! And the head never ceased to repeat this exclamation, till all were drawn to it. The chords of the dead man's tongue vibrated within the passages of the jaws, thus displaying the miraculous power of Him who was born of the Word, and endowed the braying ass with human speech, so that it rebuked the madness of the prophet. And to this miracle the Creator of the world added another by attaching an unwonted guardian

cœlesti thesauro insolitum custodem dedit. Quippe immanis lupus eo loco divina miseratione est repertus, qui illud sacrum caput inter brachia complexus procumbebat humi, excubias impendens martyri. Nec sibi depositum permisit lædere quampiam bestiarum, quod inviolabile solo tenuis prostratus oblita voracitate servabat attentius. Quod stupefacti videntes qui confluxerant, beatissimum regem et martyrem Eadmundum illi viro desideriorum¹ iudicaverunt meritis similem, qui inter esurientium rictus leonum illæsus sprexit minas insidiantium.

XIV. Assumentes ergo unanimi devotione quam invenerant inestimabilis pretii margaritam, cum profusis præ gaudio lacrimarum imbribus retulerunt ad suum corpus, benedicentes Deum in hymnis et laudibus, prosequente usque ad locum sepulcri lupo, earundem reliquiarum custode et bajulo. Qui eis a tergo imminens, et quasi pro perduto pignore lugens, cum neminem etiam irritatus læderet, nemini importunus existeret, nota dilectæ solitudinis secreta illæsus repetiit, nec ulterius in illis locis lupus specie tam terribilis apparuit. Quo tandem recedente, cum summa diligentia et omni sagacitatis studio aptantes quibus creditum est caput corpori sancto pro tempore, tradiderunt utrumque pariter junctum competenti mausoleo. Qua etiam, ædificata vili opere desuper basilica, multis annis

¹ Daniel vi.

to the heavenly treasure. In fact, a monstrous wolf was by God's mercy found in that place, embracing the holy head between its paws, as it lay at full length on the ground, and thus acting as sentinel to the martyr. Nor did it suffer any animal whatever to injure its charge, but, forgetful of its natural voracity, preserved the head from all harm with the utmost vigilance, lying outstretched on the earth. This was witnessed with astonishment by the crowd which had assembled, and they recognised in the most blessed king and martyr Eadmund a worthy parallel to that enviable man who, unharmed among the gaping jaws of hungry lions, laughed to scorn the threats of those who had plotted his destruction.

XIV. Lifting up, therefore, with concordant devotion the pearl of inestimable price which they had discovered, and shedding floods of tears for joy, they brought back the head to its body, blessing God with hymns and lauds, while the wolf, which was the guardian and bearer of the relic, followed them to the place of entombment, and keeping close behind them, though seemingly grieved for the loss of the pledge it had had in keeping, neither did harm to any one though provoked, nor gave trouble to any one, but again betook itself unharmed to the familiar seclusion of its congenial solitude; and never afterwards was there seen in that neighbourhood any wolf so terrible in appearance. When the wolf had retired, those who were intrusted with the duty, with the utmost care and with all possible zeal and skill provisionally fitted the head to the sacred body, and committed the two joined together to a becoming sepulchre. And there they built over the grave a chapel of rude construction, in which the body rested for many years, until the con-

requievit humatus, donec sedatis omnimodo bellorum incendiis et valida tempestate persecutionis, coepit respirare religiosa pietas fidelium, erepta de pressuris tribulationum. Quæ, ubi tempus opportunum invenit, devotionem quam circa beatissimum regem et martyrem Eadmundum habuit, operum exhibitione multipliciter propalavit. Idem namque sanctus, sub vili tugurio sanctificatæ domus, cujus esset apud Deum meriti crebris manifestabat miraculorum signis. Quibus rebus permota ejusdem provinciæ multitudo, non solum vulgi sed etiam nobilium, in villa regia quæ lingua Anglorum Bedrices-gueord dicitur, Latina vero Bedrici-curtis vocatur, construxit permaximam miro ligneo tabulatu ecclesiam, ad quam eum, ut decebat, transtulit cum magna gloria.

XV. Sed, mirum dictu ! cum illud pretiosum corpus martyris putrefactum putaretur ob diuturnum spatium transacti temporis, ita sanum et incolume repertum est, ut non dicam redintegratum et compactum corpori, sed omnino in eo nichil vulneris, nichil cicatricis apparuerit. Sicque cum reverentia nominatus sanctus rex et martyr Eadmundus, integer et viventis simillimus, ad prædictum locum est translatus, ubi adhuc in eadem forma expectat beatæ resurrectionis gaudia repromissa. Tantum in ejus collo ob signum martyrii rubet una tenuissima ruga in modum

flagration of war and the mighty storms of persecution were over, and the religious piety of the faithful began to revive, upon relief from the pressure of tribulation. And so, when a seasonable opportunity was found, they displayed in many ways the devotion which they cherished in regard to the blessed king and martyr Eadmund. They were stirred by the occurrence of marvellous works. For the Saint, from beneath the lowly roof of his consecrated abode, made manifest by frequent miraculous signs the magnitude of his merits in the sight of God. These events aroused great numbers of the inhabitants of that province, high and low alike; and in the royal town which, in the English tongue, is named Bedrices-gueord, but in Latin is called Bedrici-curtis, they erected a church of immense size, with storeys admirably constructed of wood, and to this they translated him with great magnificence, as was due.

XV. But, marvellous to tell, whereas it was supposed that the precious body of the martyr would have mouldered to dust in the long interval of time which had elapsed, it was found to be so sound and whole that it would be out of place to speak of the head having been restored to and united with the body, for there was absolutely no trace apparent of wound or scar. And so the king and martyr Eadmund was with reverence pronounced to be a Saint, and was translated whole and entire, and wearing every semblance of life, to the place above mentioned, where to this day without change of form he awaits the covenanted felicity of a blessed resurrection. One thing only is to be noticed: round his neck, as an ensign of his martyrdom, there was seen an extremely thin red crease, like

fili coccinei, sicut testari erat solita quædam beatæ recordationis fœmina, Oswen vocabulo dicta, quæ paulo ante hæc nostra moderna tempora, apud ejus sacrosanctum tumulum jejuniis et orationibus vacans, multa transegit annorum cur[r]icula. Cui venerabili fœminæ aut divina revelatione aut nimia devotione mos inolevit, ut patefacto beati martyris sepulcro, quotannis in Dominica cœna, ejus attendendo præcideret capillos et ungues. Quæ omnia diligenter colligens et in capsella recondens non neglexit, quamdiu vixit, excolere mira affectione, posita super altare ejusdem ecclesiæ, ubi adhuc reservantur debita veneratione.

XVI. Sed et beatæ memoriæ Theodredus, ejusdem provinciæ religiosus episcopus, qui propter meritorum prærogativam bonus appellabatur, quod de incorruptione sancti regis diximus tali ordine est expertus. Cum, ut narrare adorsi sumus, præfato loco martyris tumulationi congruo a quibusque religiosius multa conferrentur donaria et ornamenta, in auro et argento pretiosissimo, quidam malignæ mentis homines, omnis boni immemores, aggressi sunt sub nocturno silentio eandem infringere basilicam latrocinandi studio. Fuerunt autem octo qui absque ulla reverentia sancti decreverant satisfacere suæ vesanæ voluntati, capiendo furtim omnia quæcumque invenissent sibi utilia infra

a scarlet thread, as was frequently attested by a certain woman of blessed memory called Oswen, who shortly before these recent times of ours passed many years in succession near his consecrated tomb, absorbed in fastings and prayers. This venerable woman, either from some divine intuition, or from excess of devotion, made it her constant practice to open the sepulchre of the blessed martyr year by year, at the anniversary of the Lord's Supper, and to trim and pare his hair and nails. These relics, one and all, she studiously collected, and stored in a casket; nor did she ever omit, as long as she lived, to cherish them with an affection that was wonderful, having placed them on the altar of the church to which I have referred. And there they are still preserved with due veneration.

XVI. There is, moreover, the evidence of Theodred of blessed memory, the pious bishop of the province, whose good deserts challenged for him the designation of 'the good.' He verified, as is set out below, the fact which I have stated of the incorruption of the sainted king. Divers persons in their piety had contributed, as I had begun to relate, a number of offerings and ornaments in gold and silver of great value, to the place above mentioned as having been selected for the entombment of the martyr, when some men of depraved minds, and utterly forgetful of what was right, attempted under cover and in the silence of night to break into the temple of the king for the purpose of robbery. There were eight of these marauders who, totally wanting in reverence for the Saint, had determined to gratify their crazy cupidity by the theft of everything which they might find of use to themselves within the precincts of

ejusdem monasterii septa. Unde sumptis machinis et quibuslibet utensilibus quibus ad id perficiendum habebant opus, quadam nocte aggrediuntur præmeditatum facinus, et stantes in atrio ecclesiæ diverso conatu unusquisque conceptæ instat nequitie. Quorum alius postibus scalam applicat, ut per insertam fenestram se ingerat; alius cum lima aut fabрили malleo instat seræ aut pessulo; alii cum vangis et ligonibus suffossionem parietis machinantur. Sicque disposito opere, cum singuli certatim insudant pro virium facultate, sanctus martyr eos ligat in ipso conamine, ut nec pedem loco possent movere, nec arreptum officium deserere, sed alius cum sua scala penderet sublimis in aere, alius palam incurvus fossor fieret, qui ad id opus furtivus venisset. Interea quidam matriculariorum qui infra basilicam jacebat, somno excitus, lecto procumbebat invitus, quem martyris potentia suo conatu vinxerat, ne suis obviis factis mirabilibus sonus fragoris creber custodis pulsaret aures interius. Sed quid dicam, non posse surgere, quando nec in vocem poterat erumpere? Tandem mane adhuc persistentes fures incepto operi comprehensi a pluribus traduntur vinculis arctioribus, et tandem prædicti sancti episcopi Theodredi judicio subduntur. Qui impremeditatus sententiam dedit, quam se dedisse postea omni tempore

the monastery. They furnished themselves accordingly with whatever implements and tools they had that would be serviceable for the execution of this work, and one night attempted to carry out their premeditated crime. Posted in the fore-court of the church, each member of the gang applied himself in his several capacity to his share of the concerted outrage. Thus one laid a ladder to the door-posts, in order to climb through the window ; another was engaged with a file, or a smith's hammer, on the bars and bolts ; others with shovels and mattocks endeavoured to undermine the walls. The work being thus distributed, whilst they vied one with another in the most strenuous exertions, the holy martyr bound them fast in the midst of their efforts, so that they could neither stir from the spot nor abandon the task upon which they had entered ; one on his ladder hung aloft in mid-air, another was displayed to view with his back bent in digging, who had stolen unobserved to the guilty deed. Meanwhile, one of the staff of attendants who was sleeping within the temple, though aroused from his slumbers, was kept a prisoner in his bed, restrained in his endeavour to rise by the martyr's power, so that no sound or noisy echo should reach the ears of the custodian within, and so impede the manifestation of the Saint's miraculous power. But I understate the facts when I say that the man could not rise, seeing that he could not so much as utter a word. At length morning came, and then the thieves, still persevering with the work which they had begun, were arrested by a number of people, and, after being firmly secured by chains, were finally committed to the above-mentioned holy bishop Theodred for trial. The bishop, through inadvertence, pronounced upon them a sentence of which he afterwards regretted the infliction

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vitæ suæ pœnituit. Nam omnes simul jussit affigi patibulis, eo quod ausi fuissent atrium sancti Eadmundi martyris furtive ingredi; non reducens ad memoriam quod Dominus per prophetam admonet,¹ 'Eos qui ducuntur ad mortem eruere ne cesses'; factum quoque Helisei² prophetæ, qui latrunculos de Samaria pastos pane et aqua remisit ad propria, dicens regi volenti percutere ilico, quod non eos cepisset in gladio et arcu suo; Apostoli³ etiam præceptum, quo dicit, Sæcularia negotia si habueritis, contemptibiles qui sunt in ecclesia, id est, viros sæculares, constituite ad judicandum. Unde canonica auctoritas prohibet ne quis episcopus aut quilibet de clero delatoris fungatur officio, quoniam satis dedecet ministros vitæ cœlestis assensum præbere in mortem cujuslibet hominis. Quamobrem prædictus episcopus in se reversus graviter indoluit, et sibi pœnitentiam indicens diutius se in gravibus lamentis dedit. Qua peracta pœnitentia, populos suæ dioceseos mandat, mandando convocat, convocando suppliciter persuadet, ut triduo jejunio a se divinæ indignationis iracundiam removeant, removendo avertant, quatenus sacrificio spiritus contribulati placatus Dominus illi suam gratiam concederet, qua corpus beati martyris tangere et lavare auderet; qui, licet tantis virtutibus floreret in mundo, vili tamen et sibi incongruo continebatur mausoleo.

¹ Proverbs xxiv. 11.² 2 Kings vi. 22.³ 1 Cor. vi. 4.

for the whole of his life-time. In fact, he ordered the whole gang to be hanged together, because, for the purpose of theft, they had dared to invade the precincts of St. Eadmund the Martyr. But he failed to keep in mind the monition of God through his prophet, 'Cease not to deliver those who are appointed to die,' and the action of Elisha the Prophet, who fed the robbers of Samaria with bread and water, and sent them to their own homes, saying to the king who was minded to slay them on the spot, that he had not taken them by means of his sword and his bow; and again, the injunction of the Apostle, in which he says, 'If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church,' meaning thereby laymen. This is the origin of the canonical precept which forbids a bishop or any one in holy orders to discharge the function of an informer, as it is highly unbecoming that the ministers of the heavenly life should yield assent to the death of any man whatever. Consequently the bishop aforesaid, when he reflected on what he had done, was struck with profound remorse, and awarded penance against himself, remaining for a long while engrossed in deep contrition. At the end of his penance he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of his diocese, and by the proclamation he convened them, and in convening, he begged and entreated them, by means of a three days' fast, to remove and avert from him the divine indignation and wrath, to the end that the Lord, being appeased by the sacrifice of a troubled spirit, should accord him grace, by which he might venture to touch and wash the body of the blessed martyr, who, though he blossomed with so many virtues when in the world, was nevertheless enshrined in a poor sepulchre, inadequate to his deserts. And so it was done; and

Factumque est, et illud sanctissimi regis corpus ante dilaceratum et truncum, ita ut jam retulimus, unitum et incorruptum reperit, tetigit, lavit, et rursum novis et optimis vestibus indutum ligneo locello reposuit, benedicens Deum qui mirabilis est in sanctis suis et gloriosus in omnibus operibus suis.

XVII. Nec piget referre de quodam magnæ potentiæ viro, Leofstano vocabulo, qui juvenilis ætatis impetum non refrænans ad id flagitii lasciviendo prorupit, ut sibi quadam singularis potentiæ auctoritate præciperet ostendi corpus tanti martyris. Cumque inhiberetur a pluribus, maxime tamen a suis fidelibus, prævaluit ejus imperium, quoniam propter arrogantiam suæ nobilitatis omnibus erat terrori. Reseratoque locello astitit, aspexit, et in eodem momento in amentiam versum tradidit illum Dominus in reprobum sensum, ac poena sua didicit quia præsumpsisset quod non licuit. Quod audiens pater ejus, vir religiosus admodum, cui erat Ælfgar vocabulum, horruit facinus flagitiosissimum, et martyri gratias retulit, filiumque a se removit. Qui tandem ad summam inopiam perductus judicio Dei vitam finivit, vermibus consumptus.

XVIII. Sicque sanctus rex et martyr Eadmundus omnibus innotuit, non se esse inferiorem meritis Laurentii beati levitæ et martyris, cujus corpus, ut refert beatus pater Gregorius, cum

the bishop found the body of the most holy king, which before had been lacerated and mutilated, as I have already related, whole and incorrupt ; he handled it, he washed it, he clothed it afresh with new robes of the best, and replaced it in a wooden coffin, blessing God, who is wonderful in His saints and glorious in all His works.)

XVII. I shall not, I hope, tire my readers if I mention the fate of a man of great position named Leofstan, who, unable to curb the impetuosity of youth, was carried to such a pitch of wanton wickedness that he demanded, in the exercise of his supreme authority, the exhibition to himself of the martyr's body. Although he was dissuaded by many persons, and chiefly by his own retainers, his command prevailed, as he was regarded with general dread on account of the pre-eminence of his rank. The coffin was opened ; he stood by, he looked in, and at that very moment the Lord smote him with madness and gave him over to a reprobate mind. Thus he was taught by his punishment that his presumption had carried him beyond lawful bounds. This came to the ears of his father, a man of deep piety, whose name was Ælfgar. He was appalled by the infamous crime of his son ; and rendered thanks to the martyr, and turned his son out of doors. The latter was reduced at length to the depths of poverty, and by God's judgment was devoured by worms, and so brought his life to an end.

XVIII. In such wise the holy king and martyr, Eadmund, demonstrated to the world that he was not inferior in merit to Lawrence, the blessed deacon and martyr. As has been related

quidam, seu digni seu indigni, levare volentes conspicerent, contigit ut octo ex eis ibidem subita morte perirent. O quanta reverentia locus ille dignus extitit, qui sub specie dormientis tantum Christi testem continet, et in quo tantæ virtutes fiunt et factæ esse referuntur, quantas hac tempestate apud Anglos nusquam alibi audivimus; quas ego brevitatis studio prætereo, ne alicujus fastidiosi offensam incurrerem, justo prolixior, credens ista sufficere quæ dicta sunt ardenti desiderio eorum qui, præter Deum, hujus martyris patrocínio nil præferunt. De quo constat, sicut et de aliis sanctis omnibus jam cum Christo regnantibus, quod licet ejus anima sit in cœlesti gloria, non tamen per visitationem die noctuque longe est a corporis præsentia, cum quo promeruit ea quibus jam perfruitur beatæ immortalitatis gaudia. Nam dum in æterna patria ei jungitur qui ubique totus est, de eo habet posse quicquid habuerit et velle, præter id solum quod infatigabili desiderio concupiscit, ut per resurrectionem circumdetur stola mutatæ carnis; quoniam tunc erit perfecta beatitudo sanctorum, cum ad id fuerit Christo largiente perventum.

XIX. Sed de hoc sancto martyre æstimari licet, cujus sit sanctitatis in hac vita, cujus caro mortua præfert quoddam resurrectionis decus sine sui labe aliqua; quandoquidem eos,

by the blessed Pope Gregory, certain persons, worthy or unworthy, inspected his body with the intention of exhuming it, and out of their number it befell that no less than eight perished on the spot by sudden death. Oh! what deep reverence was due to that place, which contains in the guise of one asleep so august a witness to Christ, and in which such wondrous works are said to have occurred, and do occur, as in these times we have heard of in no other part of England! For brevity's sake I pass over these, not being desirous of incurring by undue prolixity the resentment of any fastidious person, and in the belief that what has been related will satisfy the ardent wishes of those who deem nothing preferable to the patronage of this martyr, except God himself. It is fully proved in his case (as in that of all the other saints who already reign with Christ) that though his spirit be in the enjoyment of heavenly glory, yet it has power to revisit the body and is not by day or night far separated from the place where that body lies, in union with which it has earned the joys of a blessed immortality, of which even now it has the fruition. Doubtless, in its eternal home, where it is united to Him, who is integrally present everywhere, the spirit has from Him power proportioned to its capacity of will, besides the boon of boons which it covets with unwearying desire, that by the resurrection it should be enveloped with the garment of the flesh transformed; since then will the beatitude of the saints be perfected, when that consummation shall have been attained through the bounty of Christ.

XIX. And how great was the holiness in this life of the holy martyr may be conjectured from the fact that his body even in

qui hujuscemodi munere donati sunt, extollant Catholici patres, suæ religionis indiculo, de singulari virginitatis adepto privilegio; dicentes quod justa remuneratione etiam hic gaudent præter mortem de carnis incorruptione, qui eam usque ad mortem servaverunt, non sine jugis martyrii valida persecutione. Quid enim majus, sub caritate Christianæ fidei, quam adipisci hominem cum gratia quod habet angelus ex natura? Unde divinum¹ oraculum quasi singulari quodam dono reponnit, quod virgines sequentur Agnum quocumque ierit. Considerandum igitur quis iste fuerit, qui in regni culmine inter tot divitias et luxus sæculi semet ipsum calcata carnis petulantia vincere studuit, quod ejus ostendit caro incorruptibilis. Cui humano obsequio famulantes satagant illi ea placere munditia, quam ei perpetuo placuisse manifestant membra incorrupta, et si non possunt virgineo flore pudicitiae, saltem expertæ voluptatis jugi mortificatione. Quoniam si illa sanctæ animæ invisibilis et illocalis præsentia alicujus famulantium spurcitia offendatur, timendum est, quod propheta² terribiliter comminatur, 'In terra sanctorum iniqua gessit, et ideo gloriam Domini non videbit.' Cujus terrore sententiæ permoti, hujus sancti

¹ Apoc. xiv. 4.² Isaiah xxvi. 10.

death displays something of the glory of the resurrection without trace of decay ; for it must be borne in mind that they who are endued with this kind of distinction are extolled by the Catholic Fathers in the rolls of their religion as having attained the peculiar privilege of virginity, for they teach that such as have preserved their chastity till death, and have endured the stress of persecution even to the goal of martyrdom, by a just recompense are endued even here on earth, when death is past, with incorruption of the flesh. What, indeed, can be thought a higher privilege in the dispensation of love and Christian faith than this, that mortal man should acquire by grace the attribute which angels have by nature ? So it is that the divine oracle promises as by a peculiar concession that the Virgins shall follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. Let us then consider what manner of man he was, who, stationed on the royal throne in the midst of worldly wealth and luxury, strove to conquer self, by treading under foot all carnal desires, as is shown by the incorruptibility of his flesh. And let those who render to him the ministry of human reverence strive to the utmost to please him by that purity of life, which his uncorrupted body proves to have been his continual happiness ; and, if they cannot do so with the flower of virgin modesty, let them at least steadfastly mortify their desire for pleasure, of which they have had past experience. For should the Presence of that sacred spirit, which no eye can detect, and which is not confined by limits of space, be offended by the foul life of any of his ministers, it is to be feared that, according to the dreadful threat of the prophet, 'He hath done iniquity in the land of the saints, and therefore shall not see the glory of the Lord.' Feeling the terror of such a doom, let us implore the

Eadmundi regis et martyris imploremus patrociniū, ut nos cum sibi digne famulantibus expiet a peccatis quibus meremur supplicium, per eum qui vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Explicit passio sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris.

protection of Saint Eadmund, king and martyr, that he may deliver us, and all those who worthily minister to him, from those sins for which we deserve to be punished, through Him who lives and reigns, world without end, Amen.

Here ends the Passion of Saint Eadmund, King and Martyr.

ÆLFRIC'S VERSION IN OLD ENGLISH OF ABBO'S
PASSION OF S. EADMUND¹

Edited by Professor SKEAT. Early English Text Society,
1900. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited.

PASSIO SANCTI EADMUNDI REGIS

*XII. Kal. Decembres. Passio Sancti Eadmundi Regis
et Martyris.*

SVM SWYȝE GELÆRED MUNUC com supan ofer sæ
fram sancte benedictes stówe on æpelredes cynninges dæge to
dunstane ærce-bisceope prim gearum ær he forðferde . and se
munuc hatte abbo . þa wurdon hi æt spræce oppæt dunstan
rehte be Sancte Eadmunde . swa swa Eadmundes swurd-bora
hit rehte æpelstane cynninge þa þa dunstan iung man wæs . and
se swurd-bora wæs forealdod man , þa gesette se munuc ealle
þa gereccednysse on anre béc . and eft ȝa þa seo béc com to ús
binnan feawum gearum þa awende we hit on Englisc . swa
swa hit her-æfter stent. Se munuc þa abbo binnan twam
gearum . gewende ham to his mynstre and wearð sona to
abbode geset on þam ylcan mynstre.

EADMUND SE EADIGA EASTENGLA CYNING
wæs snotor and wurðfull . and wurðode symble

¹ 'Ælfric was born probably about 955; he spent his youth in the
Benedictine monastery at Winchester; was a priest, and therefore over
thirty, when he went to Cerne Abbas in Dorsetshire, say about 987; is

ST. EDMUND, KING AND MARTYR

Nov. 20.—Passion of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr.

A CERTAIN very learned monk came from the South, over the sea, from Saint Benedict's Stow, in the days of King Æthelred, to Archbishop Dunstan, three years before he died; and the monk was called Abbo. Then they were in conversation, till Dunstan told him about Saint Edmund, even as Edmund's sword-bearer told it to King Æthelstan, when Dunstan was a young man and the sword-bearer a very old man. Then the monk put all this story in a book, and afterwards, when the book had come to us, within a few years, we turned it into English just as it stands hereafter. This monk Abbo within two years went home to his minster, and was almost immediately appointed abbot in that same minster.

Edmund the blessed, king of the East Angles,
was wise and honourable, and ever glorified,

supposed to have returned to Winchester; there completed his first set of Homilies about 993, and the second about 995; a third series, or *Lives of Saints*, followed about 996-7. He was made Abbot of Eynesham 1005, and may have lived to 1020, when he would have been about sixty-five years old.—ÆLFRIC (*Lives of Saints*), Skeat, vol. ii. p. 41.

mid æpelum þeawum þone ælmihtigan god .
 He wæs ead-mod . and gepungen . and swá an-ræde þurh-
 wunode
 þæt he nolde abugan to bysmorfullum leahtrum .
 ne on napre healfe he ne ahyrde his þeawas .
 ac wæs symble gemyndig þære soþan lare .
 [gif] þu eart to heafod-men ge-set . ne ahefe þu ðe .
 ac beo betwux mannum swa swa an man of him .
 He wæs cystig wædlum and wydewum swa swa fæder .

and mid wel-willendnysse gewissode his folc
 symle to rich-wisnysse . and þam reþum styrde .
 and gesæliglice leofode on soþan geleafan .
 Hit gelamp ða æt nextan þæt þa deniscan leode
 ferdon mid scip-here hergiende and sleande
 wide geond land swa swa hora gewuna is .
 On þam flotan wæron þa fyrmestan heafod-men
 hinguar and hubba . geanlæhte þurh deofol .
 and hi on norð-hymbra-lande gelendon mid æscum
 and aweston þæt land . and þa leoda ofslogon .
 Þa ge-wende hinguar east mid his scipum .
 and hubba belaf on norð-hymbra-lande .
 gewunnenum sige . mid wælhreownysse .
 Hinguar þa becom to east-Englum rowende .
 on þam geare þe ælfred æðeling . an and twentig geare
 wæs .
 se þe west-sexena cynincg sippan wearð mære .
 And se fore-sæda hinguar færlice swa swa wulf
 on lande bestalcode . and þa leode sloh

by his excellent conduct, Almighty God.
He was humble and devout, and continued so steadfast

that he would not yield to shameful sins,
nor in any direction did he bend aside his practices,
but was always mindful of the true doctrine—
'If thou art made a chief man, exalt not thyself,
'but be amongst them as one of them.'
He was bountiful to the poor and to widows even like a
father,
and with benignity guided his people
ever to righteousness, and controlled the violent,
and lived happily in the true faith,
Then at last it befell that the Danish people
came with a fleet, harrying and slaying
widely over the land, as their custom is.
In that fleet were their chief men
Hingwar and Hubba, associated by the devil,
and they landed in Northumbria with their ships,
and wasted the land and slew the people.
Then Hingwar turned eastward with his ships,
and Hubba was left in Northumbria,
having won the victory by means of cruelty.
Then Hingwar came rowing to East Anglia
in the year when Ælfred the Ætheling was one and twenty
years old,
he who afterwards became the renowned king of the West
Saxons.
And the aforesaid Hingwar suddenly, like a wolf,
stalked over the land and slew the people,

weras and wif . and þa ungewittigan cild .
 and to bysmore tucode þa bilewitan cristenan .
 He sende ða sona syððan to þam cyninge
 beotlic ærende . pæt he abugan sceolde
 to his man-rædene gif he rohte his feores .
 Se ærendraca com þa to eadmunde cyninge
 and hinguares ærende him ardlice ahead .
 ' Hinguar ure cyning cene and sigefæst .
 ' on sæ and on lande . hæfð fela þeoda gewyld .
 ' and com nu mid fyrde færlice her to lande
 ' pæt he her winter-setl mid his werode hæbbe .
 ' Nu het he þe dælan pine digelan gold-hordas .
 ' and pinra yldrena gestreon ardlice wið hine .
 ' and þu beo his under-kyning . gif ðu cucu beon wylt .
 ' for-ðan-þe ðu næfst þa mihte pæt þu mage him wið-
 standan ' .

Hwæt þa eadmund clypode ænne bisceop .
 þe him þa gehendost wæs and wið hine smeade
 hu he þam reþan hinguare and-wyrðan sceolde .
 Þa forhtode se bisceop for þam færlican gelimpe .
 and for þæs cyninges life . and cwæp pæt him ræd
 puhte
 pæt he to þam gebuge þe him beað hinguar .
 Þa suwode se cyning and beseah to þære eorþan .
 and cwæp þa æt nextan cynelice him to .
 ' Eala pu bisceop to bysmore synd getawode
 ' þas earman land-leoda . and me nu leofre wære
 ' pæt ic on feohte feolle . wið þam þe min fole
 ' moste heora eardes brucan ' . and se bisceop cwæp .
 ' Eala pu leofa cyning þin fole lið ofslagen ' .

men and women, and witless children,
and shamefully tormented the innocent Christians.

Then soon afterward he sent to the king
a threatening message, that he must bow down
to do him homage, if he recked of his life.
So the messenger came to King Edmund,
and speedily announced to him Hingwar's message.
'Hingwar our king, keen and victorious
'by sea and by land, hath rule over many peoples,
'and has landed here suddenly even now with an army,
'that he may take up his winter-quarters here with his host.
'Now he commandeth thee to divide thy secret treasures
'and thine ancestors' wealth quickly with him,
'and thou shalt be his under-king, if thou desire to live,
'because thou hast not the power that thou mayst with-
stand him.'

So then King Edmund called a bishop
who was handiest to him, and consulted with him
how he should answer the savage Hingwar.
Then the bishop feared for this terrible misfortune,
and for the king's life, and said that it seemed best to
him

that he should submit to that which Hingwar bade him.

Then the king kept silence and looked on the ground,
and said to him at last even like a king :

'Behold, thou bishop, the poor people of this land
'are brought to shame, and it were now dearer to me
'that I should fall in fight against him who would possess
'my people's inheritance.' And the bishop said,
'Alas, thou dear king, thy people lie slain,

E

‘and þu næfst þone fultum pæt þu feohtan mæge .

‘and þas flot-men cumað . and þe cucenne gebindað

‘butan þu mid fleame þinum feore gebeorge .

‘oððe þu þe swa gebeorge pæt þu buge to him’ .

Þa cwæp eadmund cyning swa swa he ful cene wæs .

‘þæs ic gewilnige and gewisce mid mode .

‘pæt ic ana ne belife æfter minum leofum þegnum

‘þe on heora bedde wurdon mid bearnum . and wifum .

‘færlice ofslægene fram þysum flot-mannum .

‘Næs me næfre gewunelic pæt ic worhte fleames .

‘ac ic wolde swiðor sweltan gif ic porfte

‘for minum agenum earde . and se ælmihtiga god wát

‘pæt ic nelle abugan fram his biggengum æfre .

‘ne fram his soþan lufe . swelte ic . lybbe ic’ .

Æfter þysum wordum he gewende to þam ærendracan

þe hinguar him to sende . and sæde him unforht .

‘Witodlice þu wære wyrðe sleges nu .

‘ac ic nelle afylan on þinum fulum blode

‘mine clænan handa . forðan-þe ic criste folgie

‘þe us swa ge-bysnode . and ic bliðelice wille beon

‘ofslagen þurh eow gif hit swa god fore-sceawað .

‘Far nu swiþe hraðe . and sege þinum reþan hlaforde .

‘ne abihð næfre eadmund hingware on life

‘hæpenum here-togan . buton he to hælende criste

‘ærest mid ge-leafan on þysum lande gebuge’ .

Þa ge-wende se ærend-raca ardlice aweg .

and gemette be wæge þone wælhreowan hinguar

mid eallre his fyrde fuse to eadmund .

and sæde þam arleasan hu him geandwyrd wæs .

'and thou hast not sufficient forces with which thou mayest fight,

'and these seamen will come and bind thee alive,

'unless thou save thy life by means of flight,

'or thus save thyself by yielding to him.'

Then said Edmund the king, full brave as he was :

'This I desire and wish in my mind,

'that I should not be left alone after my dear thanes,

'who even in their beds, with their bairns and their wives,

'have by these seamen been suddenly slain.

'It was never my custom to take to flight,

'but I would rather die, if I must,

'for my own land ; and Almighty God knoweth

'that I will never turn aside from his worship,

'nor from his true love, whether I die or live.'

After these words he turned to the messenger whom Hingwar had sent to him, and said to him undismayed :

'Verily thou wouldest now be worthy of death,

'but I will not defile my clean hands

'with thy foul blood, because I follow Christ,

'who hath so given us an example, and I will blithely

'be slain by you, if God hath so ordained.

'Depart now very quickly, and say to thy cruel lord,

'Edmund the king will never bow in life to Hingwar

'the heathen leader, unless he will first bow,

'in this land, to Jesus Christ with faith.'

Then went the messenger quickly away,

and met on the way the bloodthirsty Hingwar

with all his army hurrying to Edmund,

and told that wicked man how he was answered.

Hinguar þa bebead mid bylde þam scip-hera .
 þæt hi þæs cyninges anes ealle cepan sceolþon .
 þe his hæge forseah . and hine sona bindan .
 Hwæt þa eadmund cyning mid þam þe hinguar com .
 stod innan his healle þæs hælendes gemyndig .
 and awarep his wæpna wolde geæfen-læcan
 cristes gebysnungum . þe for-bead petre
 mid wæpnum to winnene wið þa wælhreowan iudeiscan .
 Hwæt þa arleasan þa eadmund gebundon
 and gebysmrodon huxlice . and beoton mid saglum .
 and swa syððan læddon þone geleaf-fullan cyning
 to anum eorð-fæstum treowe . and tigdon hine þær-to .
 mid heardum bendum . and hine eft swungon
 langlice mid swipum . and he symble clypode
 betwux þam swinglum mid soðan geleafan
 to hælende criste . and þa hæþenan þa
 for his geleafan wurdon wodlice yrre
 for-þan-þe he clypode crist him to fultume .
 Hi scuton þa mid gafelucum swilce him to gamenes to .
 oð þæt he eall wæs besæt mid heora scotungum
 swilce igles byrsta . swa swa sebastianus wæs .
 Þa geseah hingwar se arlease flot-man .
 þæt se æpela cyning nolde criste wið-sacan .
 ac mid anrædum geleafan hine æfre clypode .
 het hine þa beheafðian and þa hæðenan swa dydon .

Betwux þam þe he clypode to criste þagit
 þa tugon þa hæþenan þone halgan to slæge .
 and mid anum swencge slogon him of þæt heafod .
 and his sawl sipode gesælig to Criste .

Hingwar then arrogantly commanded his troops
that they should, all of them, take the king alone,
who had despised his command, and instantly bind him.
Then Edmund the king, when Hingwar came,
stood within his hall mindful of the Saviour,
and threw away his weapons, desiring to imitate
Christ's example, who forbade Peter
to fight with weapons against the bloodthirsty Jews.
Then those wicked men bound Edmund,
and shamefully insulted him, and beat him with clubs,
and afterward they led the faithful king
to an earth-fast tree, and tied him thereto
with hard bonds, and afterwards scourged him
a long while with whips, and ever he called,
between the blows, with true faith
on Jesus Christ; and then the heathen
because of his faith were madly angry,
because he called upon Christ to help him.
They shot at him with javelins as if for their amusement,
until he was all beset with their shots
as with a porcupine's bristles, even as Sebastian was.
When Hingwar, the wicked seaman,
saw that the noble king would not deny Christ,
but with steadfast faith ever called upon Him,
then he commanded men to behead him, and the heathen
did so.
For while he was yet calling upon Christ,
the heathen drew away the saint, to slay him,
and with one blow struck off his head;
and his soul departed joyfully to Christ.

Þær wæs sum man gehende gehealden þurh god .
 behyd þam hæpenum . þe þis gehyrde eall .
 and hit eft sæde swa swa we hit secgað her .
 Hwæt ða se flot-here ferde eft to scipe .
 and behyddon þæt heafod þæs halgan eadmundes .
 on þam piccum bremelum þæt hit bebyrged ne wurde
 Ða æfter fyrste syððan hi afarene wæron
 Com þæt land-folc to þe þær to lafe wæs þa .
 þær heora hlafordes lic læg butan heafde .
 and wurdon swiðe sarige for his slege on mode .
 and huru þæt hi næfdon þæt heafod to þam bodige .
 Ða sæde se sceawere þe hit ær geseah
 þæt þa flot-men hæfdon þæt heafod mid him .
 and wæs him geðuht swa swa hit wæs ful soð
 þæt hi behyddon þæt heafod on þam holte forhwega .
 Hi eodon þa secende ealle endemes to þam wuda .
 secende gehwær geond pyfelas and bremelas
 gif hi a-hwær mihton gemeton þæt heafod .
 Wæs eac micel wundor þæt an wulf wearð asend
 þurh godes wissunge to bewerigenne þæt heafod
 wið þa opre deor . ofer dæg . and niht .
 Hi eodon þa secende . and symle clypigende .
 swa swa hit gewunelic is þam ðe on wuda gað oft .
 ‘Hwær eart du nu gefera?’ and him andwyrde þæt
 heafod .
 ‘Hér . hér . hér’ . and swa gelome clypode
 andsawrigende him eallum . swa oft swa heora ænig
 clypode .
 oppæt hi ealle becomen þurh ða clypunga him to .
 Ða læg se græga wulf þe bewiste þæt heafod .

There was a certain man at hand, kept by God
hidden from the heathen, who heard all this,
and told it afterward even as we tell it here.
So then the seamen went again to ship,
and hid the head of the holy Edmund
in the thick brambles, that it might not be buried.
Then after a space, after they were gone away,
came the country-folk, who were still left there,
to where their lord's body lay without the head,
and were very sore at heart because of his murder,
and chiefly because they had not the head with the body.
Then said the spectator who previously beheld it,
that the seamen had taken the head with them,
and it seemed to him, even as it was quite true,
that they had hidden the head in the wood somewhere about.
Then they all went seeking at last in the wood,
seeking everywhere among the thorns and brambles
if they might anywhere find the head.
There was eke a great wonder, that a wolf was sent,
by God's direction, to guard the head
against the other animals by day and night.
They went on seeking and always crying out,
as is often the wont of those who go through woods:
'Where art thou now, comrade?' And the head answered
them,
'Here, Here, Here.' And so it cried out continually
answering them all, as oft as any of them cried,

until they all came to it by means of those cries.
There lay the grey wolf who guarded the head,

And mid his twam fotum hæfde þæt heafod beclýpped .
 grædig . and hungrig . and for Gode ne dorste
 þæs heafdes abyrian . [ac] heold hit wið deor .
 Ða wurdon hi ofwundrode þæs wulfes hyrd-rædenne .
 and þæt halige heafod ham feredon mid him .
 þancigende þam ælmihtigan ealra his wundra .
 ac se wulf folgode forð mid þam heafde .
 oppæt hi to tune comon . swylce he tam wære .
 and gewende eft sippan to wuda ongean .
 Ða land-leoda þa sibban ledon þæt heafod
 to þam halgan bodige . and bebyrigdon hine
 swa swa hi selost mihton on swylcere hrædinge
 and cyrcan arærdan sona him onuppon .
 Eft þa on fyrste æfter fela gearum .
 þa seo hergung geswac and sibb wearð forgifen
 þam geswenctan folce . þa fengon hi togædere
 and worhton ane cyrcan wurðlice þam halgan .
 for-þan-ðe gelome wundra wurdon æt his byrgene

æt þam gebæd-huse þær he bebyrged wæs .
 Hi woldon þa ferian mid folclicum wurðmynte
 þone halgan lichaman . and lægan innan þære cyrcan .
 þa wæs micel wundor þæt he wæs eall swa gehal
 swylce he cucu wære mid clænum lichaman .
 and his swura wæs gehalod þe ær wæs forslagen .
 and wæs swylce an seolcen præd embe his swuran
 ræd

mannum to sweotelunge hu he ofslagen wæs .
 Eac swilce þa wunda þe þa wælhreowan hæpenan
 mid gelomum scotungum on his lice macodon .

and with his two feet had embraced the head,
greedy and hungry, and for God's care durst not
taste the head, but kept it against (other) animals.
Then they were astonished at the wolf's guardianship,
and carried the holy head home with them,
thanking the Almighty for all his wonders ;
but the wolf followed forth with the head,
until they came to the town, as if he were tame,
and then turned back again into the wood.
Then the country-people afterwards laid the head
by the holy body, and buried him
as they best might in such haste,
and full soon built a church over him.
Then again, after a space, after many years,
when the harrying had ceased, and peace was restored
to the oppressed people, then they came together,
and built a church worthily to the saint,
because that frequently miracles were done at his burial-
place,
even at the bede-house where he was buried.
Then desired they to carry the holy body
with popular honour, and to lay it within the church.
Then there was a great wonder, that he was all as whole
as if he were alive, with clean body,
and his neck was healed which before was cut through,
and there was as it were a silken thread about his neck,
all red,
as if to show men how he was slain.
Also the wounds, which the bloodthirsty heathen
had made in his body by their repeated shots,

wæron gehælede purh þone heofonlican god .
 and he lip swa ansund oþ pisne and werdan dæg .
 and-bidigenge æristes . and þæs ecan wuldres .
 His lichama us cyð þe lið un-formolsnod
 þæt he butan forligre her on worulde leofode .
 and mid clænum life to Criste sipode .
 Sum wudewe wunode oswyn gehatan
 æt þæs halgan byrgene on gebedum
 and fæstenum manega gear syððan .
 seo wolde efsian sælce geara þone sanct .
 and his næglas ceorfan syferlice . mid lufe .
 and on scryne healdan to halig-dome on weofode .
 Ða wurðode þæt land-folc mid geleafan þone sanct .
 and peodréð bisceop þearle mid gifum
 on golde and on seolfre . þam sancte to wurðmynte .
 Ða comon on sumne sæl unge-sælige peofas
 eahta on anre nihte to þam arwurðan halgan
 woldon stelan þa mæðmas þe men pyder brohten .

and cunnodon mid cræfte hu hi in cumon mihton .
 Sum sloh mid slecge swiðe þa hæpsan .
 sum heora mid feolan feolode abutan .
 sum eac underdealf þa duru mid spade .
 sum heora mid hlæddre wolde unlucan þæt ægðyrl .
 Ac hi swuncon on idel . and earmlice ferdon .
 swa þæt se halga wer hī wunderlice geband .
 sælce swa he stod strutigende mid tole .
 þæt heora nan ne mihte þæt morð gefremman .
 ne hi þanon astyrian . ac stodon swa oð mergen .
 Men þa þæs wundrodon hu þa weargas hangodon .

were healed by the heavenly God ;
and so he lieth uncorrupt until this present day,
awaiting the resurrection and the eternal glory.
His body showeth us, which lieth undecayed,
that he lived without fornication here in this world,
and by a pure life passed to Christ.

A certain widow who was called Oswyn
dwelt near the saint's burial-place in prayers
and fastings for many years after.
She would every year cut the hair of the saint,
and cut his nails soberly and lovingly,
and keep them in a shrine as relics on the altar.
So the people of the land faithfully venerated the saint ;
and Bishop Theodred exceedingly (enriched the church)
with gifts in gold and silver, in the saint's honour.

Then once upon a time came some unblessed thieves,
eight in one night, to the venerable saint,
desiring to steal the treasures which people had brought
thither,
and tried how they might get in by craft.
One struck at the hasp violently with a hammer ,
one of them filed about it with a file ;
one dug under the door with a spade ;
one of them by a ladder wished to unlock the window ;
but they toiled in vain and fared miserably,
because the holy man wondrously bound them,
each as he stood, toiling with his implement,
so that none of them could do that evil deed,
nor stir thence ; but they stood there till morning.
Then men wondered to see how the wretches hung there,

sum on hlæddre . sum leat to gedelfe .
 and ælc on his weorce wæs fæste gebunden .
 Hi wurdon þa ge-brohte to þam bisceope ealle .
 and he het hī hōn on heagum gealgum ealle .
 Ac he næs na gemyndig hu se mild-heorta god
 clypode purh his witegan þas word þe hēr standað .
 Eos qui ducuntur ad mortem eruere ne cesses .
 þa þe man læt to deaðe alys hī ut symble .
 and eac þa halgan canones gehadodum forbeodað
 ge bisceopum ge preostum . to beonne embe þeofas .
 for-pan-þe hit ne gebyraþ þam þe beoð gecorene
 gode to þegnigenne þæt hi geþwærlæcan sceolon .
 on æniges mannes deaðe . gif hi beoð drihtnes þenas .
 Eft þa ðeodred bisceop sceawode his bec syððan
 behreowsode mid geomerunge . þæt he swa reðne dóm
 sett

þam ungesæligum þeofum . and hit besargode æfre
 oð his lifes ende . and þa leode bæd georne .
 þæt hi him mid fæstan fullice pry dagas .
 biddende þone ælmihtigan . þæt he him arian scolde .
 On þam lande wæs sum man . leofstan gehaten .
 rice for worulde . and unwitting for gode .
 se rād to þam halgan mid riccetera swiðe .
 and het him æt-eowian orhlice swiðe .
 þone halgan sanct hwæþer he gesund wære .
 ac swa hraðe swa he geseah þæs sanctes lichaman .
 þa awedde he sona . and wæl-hreowlice grymetede
 and earmlice geendode yfelum deaðe .
 Þis is ðam gelic þe se geleafulla papa
 Gregorius sæde on his gesetnyssa

one on a ladder, one bent down to his digging,
and each was fast bound in his own work.
Then they were all brought to the bishop,
and he commanded men to hang them all on a high gallows ;
but he was not mindful how the merciful God
spake through his prophet the words which here stand,—
'Eos qui ducuntur ad mortem eruere ne cesses' ;
'those who are led to death deliver thou alway.'

And also the holy canons forbid clerics,
both bishops and priests, to be concerned about thieves,
because it becometh not them that are chosen
to serve God, that they should consent
to any man's death, if they be the Lord's servants.
Then Theodred the bishop, after he had searched his books,
rued with lamentation that he had awarded such a cruel
doom

to these unhappy thieves, and ever deplored it
to his life's end ; and earnestly prayed the people
to fast with him fully three days,
praying the Almighty that He would have pity upon him.

In that land was a certain man called Leofstan,
rich in worldly things, and ignorant towards God,
who rode with great insolence to the saint's shrine,
and very arrogantly commanded them to show him
the holy saint, (to see) whether he were incorrupt ;
but as soon as he saw the saint's body,
then he straightway raved and roared horribly,
and miserably ended by an evil death.
This is like that which the orthodox pope,
Gregory by name, said in his writing

be ðam halgan laurentie ðe lið on rome-byrig .

þæt menn woldon sceawian symle hu he lage .
 ge gode ge yfele . ac god hi ge-stilde .
 swa þæt þær swulton on þære sceawunge ane
 seofon menn sætgædere . þa geswicon þa oþre
 to sceawigenne þone martyr mid menniscum gedwylde .
 Fela wundra we gehyrdon on folclicre spræce .
 be þam halgan eadmundre þe we hér nellap
 on gewrite settan . ac hi wát gehwá .
 On þyssum halgan is swutel . and on swilcum oþrum .
 þæt god ælmihtig mæg þone man aræran
 eft on domes dæg andsundne of eorþan
 se þe hylt eadmundre halne his lichaman .
 oð þone micclan dæg peah ðe he of moldan come .
 Wyrðe is seo stow for þam wurðfullan halgan
 þæt hi man wurpige and wel gelogige
 mid clænum godes peowum . to Cristes peow-dome .
 for-þan-þe se halga is mærra þonne men magon asmeagan .
 'Nis angel-cynn bedæled drihtnes halgena .'
 þonne on engla-landa licgaþ swilce halgan
 swylce þæs halga cyning is and cupberht se eadiga .
 and sancte æpeldryð on elig . and eac hire swustor
 ansunde on lichaman geleafan to trymminge .
 Synd eac fela oðre on angel-cynne halgan
 þe fela wundra wyreað . swa swa hit wide is cuð
 þam ælmihtigan to lofe . þe hi on gelyfdon .
 Crist geswutelap mannum purh his mæran halgan
 þæt he is ælmihtig god þe macað swilce wundra
 peah þe þa earman iudei hine eallunge wið-socen .

concerning the holy Lawrence who lieth in the city of Rome,

that men were always wishing to see how he lay, both good and evil, but God checked them, so that there died in the looking all at once seven men together; so the others desisted from looking at the martyr with human error.

We have heard of many wonders in the popular talk about the holy Edmund, which we will not here set down in writing; but every one knoweth them.

By this saint it is manifest, and by others like him, that Almighty God can raise man again, in the day of judgment, incorruptible from the earth, He who preserveth Edmund whole in his body until the great day, though he was made of earth.

Worthy is the place for the sake of the venerable saint that men should venerate it, and well provide it with God's pure servants, to Christ's service,

because the saint is greater than men may imagine.

The English nation is not deprived of the Lord's saints, since in English land lie such saints

as this holy king, and the blessed Cuthbert, and Saint Æthelthryth in Ely, and also her sister, incorrupt in body, for the confirmation of the faith.

There are also many other saints among the English, who work many miracles, as is widely known, to the praise of the Almighty in whom they believed. Christ showeth to men, through his illustrious saints, that he is Almighty God, who causeth such wonders, though the miserable Jews altogether denied Him,

for-þan-þe hi synd awyrgede swa swa hi wiseton him sylfum .
Ne beoð nane wundra geworhte æt heora byrgenum .
for-þan-þe hī ne gelyfað on thone lifigendan Crist .
ac Crist gesuretelað mannum hwær se soða geleafa is .
þonne he swylce wundra wyrcet purh his halgan
wide geond þas eorðan . Þæs him sy wuldor
á mid his heofonlican fæder . and þam halgan gaste (a
buton ende). Amen.

because they are accursed, as they desired for themselves.
There are no wonders wrought at their sepulchres,
because they believe not in the living Christ ;
but Christ manifesteth to men where the true faith is,
since he worketh such miracles by his saints,
widely throughout the earth ; wherefore to Him be glory
ever with His Heavenly Father, and with the Holy Ghost,
for ever and ever. Amen.

ÆTHELWERDI CHRONICORUM—LIB. III.

Mon. Hist. (Petrie).

A.D. 866.—In eodem anno advectæ sunt classes tyranni Igwares ab aquilone in terram Anglorum, hyemaveruntque inter Orientales Anglos, illicque fulciunt arma; equos ascendunt, cum accolis pacem confirmant.

A.D. 868.—Burhred, rex Merciorum, cum suis primatibus eis consenserunt manendi sine calumnia.

A.D. 870.—Iterum post annum migrantur, trans regnumque Merciorum itinera cedunt ad Orientalem partem Anglorum, ibique castra metantur tempore hyemali in loco Theotforda; adversus quos aptavit bellum rex Eadmundus brevi spatio; a quibus et interimitur ibi, cujus corpus jacet mausoleatum in loco qui Beadoricesuuyrthe nuncupatur, obtinueruntque tum barbari victoriæ numen, mox defuncto rege, nam et eorum rex anno in eodem obiit Iuuar.

ÆTHELWERD'S CHRONICLE—BOOK III.

A.D. 866.—In the course of this year the fleets of the tyrant Igwar sailed from the north for England, and wintered among the East Anglians. There they strengthened their equipment, mounted horses, and made a treaty of peace with the inhabitants.

A.D. 868.—Burhred, king of the Mercians, with the chief men of his realm, conceded to the enemy the right to remain there unchallenged.

A.D. 870.—Again, at the end of a twelvemonth, the Danes moved away, and marched through the kingdom of Mercia to the eastern part of England, where, in the winter season, they pitched their camp at a place called Thetford. King Eadmund waged war against them for a short time, but was there killed by them. His body lies entombed at a place called Bedericaworth. For the time the savages gained the victory; but were soon left kingless, for their king Iwar died also the same year.

BIBLIOTHECA LAMBETHIANA

MS. 362, fol. 11, † xi. sec.

And *MS. Cott. Vespas.* D. fol. 116.

(The hymn for Vespers is not in the Lambeth MS.)

AD VESPERAS

Eadmundus martyr inclytus,
Anglorum rex sanctissimus,
Hac luce palmam nobilem
Triumphans celos intulit.

Tulit jubar hoc splendidum
Opima tellus Anglica,
Quo splendet omne seculum
Et celis crescit gaudium.

Suorum murmur pauperum
Exaudiat, sacrarium
Et ad celestis perferat
Regis pius causidicus.

Favorem Christi celitus
Nostris piaculis impetret,
Orbs ut gravata sentiat
Donativum indulgentiæ.

The three Latin hymns, translations of which next follow, are attributed to the eleventh century.

AT VESPERS

Eadmund, that martyr of renown,—
None holier wore the English crown,—
Carried this day the glorious palm,
Triumphant, into heavenly calm.

It was from England's fruitful earth
That this resplendent light had birth,
Whose beams the sequent ages gild,
While heaven with waxing joy is filled.

May our dear advocate on high
Hear the low moan of Poverty,
And through the sacred precincts bring
Her plaint before the Highest King.

And may he, from his lofty place,
Crave for our sins Christ's healing grace,
That the o'er-laden world may know
That peace His pardon can bestow.

Precantum votis annuat
Pater Deus cum Filio,
Simul cum Sancto Spiritu
Per seculorum secula. Amen.

AD MATUTINUM

Laurea regni redimitus olim,
Rex Eadmundus, decus orbis hujus,
Nunc suis adsit famulis precamur
Supplice voto.

Hac die celi fruitur secretis
Qua triumphalem meruit coronam,
Nactus ex Dani gladiis tyranni
Sanguine palmam.

Cujus exsectum caput ore prono
Trux lupus fovit famulatus illi,
Donec ad notum rediit cadaver
Vulneris expers!

Unde Rex martyr tibi magnus heres,
Integer membris maculaque purus
Fungeris digno meritis honore
Talibus hymnis.

Sit honor Patri jugis et perhennis,
Qui tuos signis decorat triumphos,
Cujus obtentu pius ipse parcat
Trinus et unus! Amen.

Through endless ages yet to run,
May God the Father, with the Son,
And with the Holy Spirit, grant
The prayers of each his suppliant. Amen.

AT MATINS

He that of old was crowned with regal bay,
King Eadmund, glory of this earthly sphere,
Now, with devout humility we pray,
Be to his servants near !

This day he tastes the deepest heavenly calm ;
This day he earned the bright triumphal crown,
And snatched from Danish brands the blood-stained palm,
And braved the tyrant's frown.

His severed head, with features earthward sunk,
The grim wolf cherished with obsequious care,
Until rejoined to its familiar trunk,
No trace of wound it bare !

Now, mighty heir of glory, martyred king,
In body sound and whole, and void of stain,
Thou reap'st due honour, as to thee we sing
In worthy hymnic strain.

Honour to God, our Sire, for evermore,
Who decks with wondrous signs thy victory ;
Through thee on us may He his mercies pour,
One God in Trinity ! Amen.

AD LAUDES

Laus et corona militum,
Jesu, tibi certantium,
Hujus triumpho subditis
Intende regis martyris.

Hac rex Eadmundus die
Raptus cruento scammate,
Sese flagrorum stigmati
Celo receptus exuit.

Devinctus acri stipite,
Loris cruentis undique,
Danis tribunal execrat,
Ac numen ejus inprobat.

Qui terebratus spiculis
Regis cruorem combibit,
Quem pro suis fidelibus
Velle mori conjicimus.

Nos hac Eadmundus die
Rex Martyr aptet gratie,
Qua perfruamur celitum
Bonis per omne seculum. Amen.

AT LAUDS

Of the hosts that for Thee fight,
Jesu, glory, crown, and light,
By our martyr's triumph here,
To thy suppliants give ear!

Snatched from scenes of bloody fray
Was King Eadmund on this day;
Freed from scourge, and scathing brand,
Soared he to the heavenly land.

To the bitter tree-stem bound,
Girt with gory shackles round,
Still the Danish judge he flouts,
Still the power usurped he scouts.

Though the javelin's rending shaft
Drains of blood a mortal draft,
Eadmund keeps his purpose high,—
For his people dares to die.

Eadmund, martyred King, this day
Be our favouring guard and stay,
That through endless ages we
May enjoy felicity! Amen.

HERMANNI ARCHIDIACONI, LIBER DE MIRACULIS
SANCTI EADMUNDI

AD sancti [Eadmundi] orientalis Angliæ procuratoris memoranda accingimur vertere stili ultima enucleatim de eo memorari quæque dignissima. Quædam nobis prolata credulo virorum eloquio; quædam quoque repperimus exarata calamo cujusdam difficillimo, et, ut ita dicam, adamantino. Ad quæ contexenda non nos provocat, quod absit, nostra præsumptio, sed felicis memoriæ patris Baldewini obsequenda jussio, fratrumque sibi subjectorum caritativa exhortatio, ut quod tempore plurium cum negligentia sic est amissum, saltem, quoad vivimus, reparetur per talentum a deo nobis commissum.

.
Universæ carnis viam ingresso [Eadmundo] glorioso palma-
que percepta martyrii pro viatico, (instabat enim, ut Cronica
testatur Anglica, annus incarnati Domini octingentesimus
septuagesimus, formati vero mundi, his exceptis, decursis
quinque millibus,) idem justus [Eadmundus], qui ut palma
floruerat bonis operibus, agonia peracta in domo Domini multi-

ARCHDEACON HERMANN'S TREATISE ON THE
MIRACLES OF S. EADMUND

Arnold's 'Memorials of S. Edmundsbury' (Rolls Series).

I address myself to the task—my last literary task—of recounting in a summary and simple manner the most noticeable among the memorable miracles of S. Eadmund, the governor of East Anglia. For some particulars I am indebted to the confiding testimony of living persons; others I have found written in a difficult and, so to speak, an adamant hand by some unknown writer. In making this compilation, I am actuated, not by my own presumption (heaven forbid), but by the command, with which it is a duty to comply, of Abbot Baldwin of happy memory, and by the friendly entreaties of the monks under him, in the hope that the events which had passed through a too common neglect into oblivion, may, while I live, be restored to memory through a good use of the talent which God has intrusted to me.

Edmund, the glorious king, went the way of all flesh, taking for his viaticum the palm of martyrdom. This occurred, as the English Chronicle testifies, in the 870th year from our Lord's Incarnation, five thousand years, less the 870, from the creation of the world. Then the righteous Eadmund, whose life had blossomed, like a palm-tree, with good works, having accom-

plicatur ut Libani cedrus. Mausoleatus quidem, ut majorum nobis intimarunt relata, in villula Suthtunc¹ dicta, de prope loco martyrizationis, pro instanti fervore rabidæ persecutionis, non auso quippe eum transferre aliquo suorum ad quemlibet magni nominis locum. Sic sanctus illo requievit, domuncula orationis super eum habita præparvissima, quoad paulatim refriguit persecutio Danorum sævissima, locusque claruit quem Dei providentia suo martyri dignissimum disposuit. Clarebat denique circum-quaque, juxta statum sancti funeris candelabrum, fulgor nimius in obscuritatibus nocturnis, non hominum sed vere celestium, splendor quarum cœli penetrabat fastigium, monstrans de eo nil dubitative, quem Deus sic munificaret cœlico lumine. Hoc primordium signi competenter Dei gratia præbet suo martyri, ut sentiat mens humana lumine vigere cuncta creata, signante super nos lumine vultus Domini, data nobis lætitia sui fidelis [Eadmundi]. Qui regioni Æstengle, cui fuerat quasi eptarcha, patrocinator permanens, cum Dei gratia suffragari non destitit circumcirca, apud omnipotentem promerens, ut credimus, nullum post se, præter Deum, successorem in illis partibus. Partiebatur enim Anglia tunc temporis regum plurium regimine, sed acciderat in Westsæxe majoritas regiminis euidam Edered nomine, jamjam manente Christianæ fidei ritu,

¹ Mr. Arnold prints 'Suthtunc,' but this is probably a misprint for 'Suthtune.'

plished his agony, was multiplied in the house of the Lord, like a cedar of Lebanon. He was entombed, as we are certified by the tradition of our elders, in a little village named Sutton, close to the scene of his martyrdom, since, in view of the scathing pressure of a violent persecution, none of his subjects ventured to remove his body to any place of importance. There, accordingly, the saint reposed, and over his body was maintained an exceedingly diminutive bede-house, until by degrees the bitter persecution of the Danes cooled down, and the place, which God's providence had designated as most worthy of His martyr, was revealed. Time passed, and then, just where the candle of the holy corpse was fixed, a brilliant light illuminated the darkness of the night. This was a light due, not to human, but to divine agency; it was a splendour which shot up to the heights of heaven, and gave indisputable proof of the sanctity of him whom God so honoured with celestial radiance. There was something very appropriate in this beginning of miracles which the grace of God vouchsafed to His martyr. Men's minds may learn from it that light is the life of all created things—that light of the countenance of the Lord, which beams on us in the grant to us of the bliss of His faithful Eadmund. Formerly he was heptarch, as it were, of the East Anglian region; and still, as an abiding champion, by God's grace he ceases not to exert his influence on its behalf in all directions, having merited, in my belief, this privilege from the Almighty, that he should have no successor here except God himself. England was in those days divided among many rulers, but in Wessex the preponderance of sovereignty had fallen to a king named Ethelred. Christian faith and worship still prevailed elsewhere than within the realms of East Anglia,

præter fines orientales, concussas, ut prælibatum est in passione sancti, gentilium impetu.

.

Sic iterum, annis ferme duodetriginta, qua potest infestans Angliam, Elveredo, prædicti Ederedi fratre, tenente monarchiam, hujus tempore, dexteræ excelsi mutatione, dispartitur, minuitur, et adnullatur piratica improbaque gens Danica a sua infestatione. Jam enim ultio Dei per sanctum [Eadmundum] debebat propalari; sanctus quoque manifestari cujus apud Deum foret meriti. Qui jam non admodum mundo manifestatus signis miraculorum, in loco ubi divinitus venerabillimum sibi delegit mausoleum, credimus ac credendo tenemus, tum pro incuria scriptorum, tanti martyris signa parvi-pendentium, si qua fuerunt, more rudium, tum propter offensa præsentialis populi, nondum veniente tempore ejus miserendi.

.

Ædelstano regna moderante, Deique gratia condonante, orientalis rex et martyr [Eadmundus] in Beodrici villa pulsans [pausans] sibi propria, jam jam declaratur Sanctus, virtute signorum splendescens, usquequaque notificatus.

which was shattered by the attacks of the pagans, as has before been stated in the 'Passion' of Saint Eadmund.

Thus, again, after nearly eight and twenty years, during which they had ravaged wherever they could the English land, when Alfred, brother to the aforesaid Ethelred, was seated on the throne, the right hand of the Most Highest changed its stress, and then the piratical and wicked Danish nation was scattered, minished and brought low, and their attacks ceased. For now the exhibition of God's vengeance through Eadmund His saint was fully due; as also was the manifestation of the saint's merits in the sight of God. Till now, he had not to any great extent been proclaimed to the world by miraculous displays in the place where by divine guidance he had chosen for himself a most venerable sepulchre, partly, I am driven to think, because of the carelessness of writers, who in their gross folly attached little importance to the works, such as there were, of the exalted martyr; partly because of the ill deserts of the people at that time, and because the hour had not come for Him to show compassion on them.

In the reign of Æthelstan, God's grace contributing, Eadmund, the king and martyr of the East, who now reposed in Bedericsworth, which he had adopted as his own, was at length pronounced to be a saint, illustrious by the efficacy of his mighty deeds, and famous in every region.

FLORENTIUS WIGORNENSIS

Ed. Thorpe, 1848.

REGNANTE autem Merciorum rege Offa, Beorna¹ regnavit in East Anglia, et post illum Æthelredus, qui de regina sua Leofruna sanctum habuit Æthelberhtum. Hic post patrem brevi tempore regnum tenuit Orientalium Anglorum; innocenter enim, sub pacis fœdere, occisus est² ab Offa rege Merciorum. Deinde perpauca reges in East Anglia per LXI. annos regnaverunt potentes; quoad ultimus eorum, Sanctus Eadmundus, nactus fuerit culmen regiminis; quem³ anno regni sui XVI^o rex paganus Hinguar martyrizavit. Ex quo tempore Anglo-Saxones in East Anglia regnare desière annis fere L.; erat enim ipsa absque rege IX. annis plene, paganorum Danorum direptioni atque nimis substrata dilacerationi, qui conati sunt ea tempestate totam Angliam sub ditioni subicere.

¹ The name of this king was really Beonna.

² A.D. 793 (for 794).

³ A.D. 870.

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER

Ed. Thorpe, 1848.

It was during the reign of Offa, King of the Mercians, that Beorna reigned in East Anglia, and he was followed by Æthelred, whose son by his queen Leofrum was Saint Æthelberht. This prince held the kingdom of the East Anglians for a short period after his father's death, when, without any fault on his part, and in spite of a treaty of peace, he was murdered by Offa, King of the Mercians. From that time forth very few kings reigned in East Anglia for a period of sixty-one years, with any degree of power, until the last of the dynasty, Saint Eadmund, ascended the throne, and he was martyred in the sixteenth year of his reign by the heathen Hinguar. Thenceforward the line of Anglo-Saxon monarchs failed in East Anglia for nearly half a century, and for full nine years of that period that country was subject to no king, but lay exposed to pillage and utter spoliation at the hands of the heathen Danes, who endeavoured at that epoch to reduce the whole of England under their dominion.

A.D. 855.—Sanctissimus Deoque acceptus Eadmundus, ex Antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus, fidei Christianæ cultor veracissimus, omnibus blando eloquio affabilis, humilitatis gratiæ præcluis, egentibus liberaliter dapilis, pater clementissimus pupillis et viduis, East Angliæ provinciæ nactus est culmen regiminis.

A.D. 866.—Æthered, regis Æthelberhti frater, Occidentalium Saxonum regni gubernacula suscepit. Eodem anno magna Paganorum classis de Danubia Britanniam advenit et in regno Orientalium Anglorum, quod Saxonice East-Engle dicitur, hiemavit, ibique ille exercitus, maxima ex parte equestris factus est.

A.D. 867.—Prædictus Paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum civitatem migravit.

A.D. 870.—Supra memoratus exercitus per Merciam in Orientales Anglos transivit, et ibi in loco qui dicitur Theodford hiemavit. Eodem anno Sanctissimus ac gloriosissimus Orientalium Anglorum rex Eadmundus, ut in sua legitur Passione, ab Inguaro rege paganissimo, indictione II., xii. Kal. Decembris [20 Nov.] die Dominico, martyrizatus est.

A.D. 871.—Exosæ memoriæ Paganorum exercitus, Orientales Anglos deserens, . . . venit ad villam regiam quæ dicitur Readingum.

A.D. 880.—Sæpe memoratus Paganorum exercitus, Cirencestre deserens, ad Orientales Anglos perrexit, ipsamque regionem dividens, cœpit inhabitare.

A.D. 855.—The most saintly Eadmund, a man acceptable to God, sprung from the line of the Old Saxons, an earnest follower of the Christian faith, well spoken and affable to all, distinguished by the grace of humility, generously bountiful to the needy, and full of pity, as a father, to orphan and widow, ascended the throne of the province of East Anglia.

A.D. 866.—Æthered, brother to King Æthelberht, succeeded to the governance of the West-Saxon kingdom. The same year, a huge fleet of the heathen came from Denmark to Britain, and landing in the territory of the East Angles, known in the native speech as East Engle, wintered there, and their forces were there to a great extent turned into cavalry.

A.D. 867.—The aforesaid army of the heathen shifted their quarters from East Anglia to the city of York.

A.D. 870.—The above-mentioned army marched through Mercia to East Anglia, and there took winter-quarters at a place called Thetford. The same year, Eadmund, the most saintly and most glorious king of the East Anglians, as is recorded in the history of his Passion, was martyred by Inguar the miscreant king, at the second indiction, on Sunday, Nov. 20.

A.D. 871.—The heathen army of execrable memory quitted East Anglia, . . . and came to a royal town called Reading.

A.D. 880.—The heathen army, which has so often been mentioned, quitted Cirencester, and made their way to East Anglia, where they portioned out the country and began to settle down.

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS
ECCLESIAE

A.D. 870.—Inde, altero anno divertens, duce omnium crudelissimo Inguar, Orientales Anglos invadit, sanctissimumque regem Eadmundum, diversis pœnis laceratum, cum suo pontifice Humberto peremit.

SYMEONIS MONACHI HISTORIA REGUM

A.D. 866.—Magna paganorum classis de Danubia Britanniae fines introiit, et sic ad regnum Orientalium Anglorum, quod Saxonico dicitur eloquio Eastengle, hiemavit, ibique ipse copiosus exercitus equestris factus est, equitantes et discurrentes hac illac, prædam diripientes enormem, non parcentes viris vel feminis, vel viduis nec virginibus.

A.D. 870.—Danorum vero enormis multitudo, et, ut ita dicam, legionum catervæ congregatæ sunt, ita ut multa viderentur milia

THE MONK SYMEON'S HISTORY OF DURHAM
CHURCH

Rolls Series, Vol. I. Ed. Arnold.

A.D. 870.—Thence shifting their quarters in the year following, the Danes invaded the territory of the East Anglians under their leader Ingvar, a monster of cruelty, and slew the most saintly King Eadmund, after various tortures and outrages, together with his bishop Humbert.

Rolls Series, Vol. II. Ed. Arnold.

A.D. 866.—A great fleet of the heathen coming from Denmark invaded the borders of Britain, and thus took winter-quarters in the kingdom of the East Anglians, which in Saxon speech is termed 'Eastengle.' There the numerous force was converted into cavalry; and rode about and scoured the country in all directions. They carried off enormous spoils, and spared neither man nor woman, neither widow nor maiden.

A.D. 870.—But an immense multitude of the Danes, amounting, so to speak, to battalions and legions, were massed together,

affore, et sicut de mille in XX myriadas excrevissent. Pervenit dehinc per Merciam in Orientales Anglos, et in civitate quæ dicitur Theodford, intrepidus hyemavit. Rex autem Eadmundus ipsis temporibus regnavit super omnia regna Orientalium Anglorum, vir sanctus et iustus, sicut finis ejus sanctissimæ vitæ probavit eventus. Eodem vero anno rex prædictus contra ipsum exercitum atrociter et viriliter cum suis pugnavit. Sed quia misericors Deus eum præcivit per martyrii coronam ad cœlestis gloriæ coronam pervenire, ibidem gloriose occubuit. De cujus passionis honore libet aliqua historiæ nostræ inserere, ut sciant et agnoscant filii hominum quam terribilis est Christus Filius Dei in consiliis hominum, et quam glorioso triumpho exornat quos hic passionis titulo excruciat, ut illud impleatur ‘Non coronatur quis nisi legitime certaverit.’ Rex autem Eadmundus imperium Orientalium Anglorum suscepit devotus, quod et tenuit dextra forti potentiæ, Deum omnipotentem semper adorans ac glorificans, pro omnibus bonis suis quibus usus fuerat. Eodem anno quo rex et martyr insignis per coronam martyrii supernæ felicitatis gaudium subiit, Ceolnoth, archiepiscopus Doroberniæ civitatis viam veritatis adiit, qui in eadem civitate est sepultus a clericis.

so that they seemed to be present in thousands, and a thousand had grown into a score of myriads. In the sequel they passed through Mercia into East Anglia, and boldly took winter-quarters in the city called Thetford. At that time King Edmund reigned over all the East Anglian kingdoms. He was a saintly and righteous man, as was shown by the closing scene of his irreproachable life. That same year the aforesaid king fought with desperate and heroic valour in the midst of his people against the invading force. But God in his mercy had destined him to attain to the crown of heavenly glory through the crown of martyrdom, and therefore he fell by a glorious death on the spot. It is a welcome task to insert in this history some particulars of the grandeur of his passion, that the sons of men may know and realise how dreadful is Christ the Son of God in the counsels of men, and how splendid is the triumph with which he glorifies those whom on earth he subjects to the torments of martyrdom; wherein is fulfilled the condition that 'he only receives the crown, who has striven according to rule for the victory.' Eadmund had succeeded as of religious duty to the sovereignty of East Anglia; he held it with the strong right hand of power, continually adoring and glorifying Almighty God for all the benefits which he had enjoyed. And in the same year in which the famous king and martyr passed by right of the crown of martyrdom to the bliss of celestial felicity, Ceolnoth, the archbishop of the city of Canterbury, entered on the way of true life, and was buried in that city by his clergy.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS GESTA REGUM

P. 96.—Pauci post eum (sc: Egelbrihtum) in Orientali Anglia regnaverunt potentes usque ad sanctum Edmundum, pro violentia Merciorum, qui anno regni sui sexto decimo ab Hinguar pagano peremptus est. Ex quo in Orientali Anglia desiere regnare Angli annis quinquaginta. Novennio enim sine rege, paganis vastantibus provincia subjacuit; post in ea et in Orientali Saxonia, Guthrum rex Danus regnavit annis duodecim tempore regis Elfredi.

P. 123.—Orientalium Anglorum pagi, cum urbibus et vicis a prædonibus possessi, rex eorum Sanctus Eadmundus ab eisdem interemptus, temporaneæ mortis compendio regnum emit æternum.

P. 212.—[Suanus] pervasor continuo ad Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, ambiguum qua morte, vitam effudit. Dicitur quod terram Sancti Edmundi depopulanti martyr idem per visum apparuerit, leniterque de miseria conventum suorum, insolentiusque respondentem, in capite perculerit; quo dolore tactum, in proximo, ut prædictum est, obiisse.

Rolls Series, 1887. Ed. W. Stubbs.

There were but few who reigned in East Anglia after Æthelberht with the substance of power, down to the time of Saint Edmund, owing to the violence of the Mercians. Edmund was killed in the sixteenth year of his reign by the pagan Hinguar. After this no English sovereign reigned in East Anglia for fifty years. For nine years, in the first place, the province was without a sovereign, and lay at the mercy of the heathen despoilers; later, Guthrum, the Danish king, reigned both in East Anglia and in Essex for the space of twelve years during the time of King Alfred.

The several districts of East Anglia, towns and villages included, passed into the hands of brigands; their king, Saint Edmund, was put to death by them, and so, by temporal death, acquired in exchange an eternal kingdom.

Swein, the tyrant, was bereft of life exactly at the Feast of the Purification of S. Mary. The cause of his death was doubtful. It was said that, as he was engaged in harrying the territory of Saint Edmund, that martyr appeared to him in a dream, and mildly arraigned the author of his people's misery. Swein made an arrogant reply; upon which the saint smote him on the head. From the wound thus inflicted, the tyrant died on the morrow, as has been related.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI GESTA
PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM

Pp. 152-5.—[Ad episcopi Norwicensis diocesim pertinere dinoscitur monasterium Sancti Edmundi; de quo, quanquam alias dixerim, nunc si breviter commemoravero, non vacat a ratione. Sic enim et dispositum meum ordine procedet, quo cogitavi post commemorationem episcoporum sanctos in eorum parrochiis requiescentes non præterire. Et gratiose fateor accedit, ut primus sanctus Edmundus occurreret, qui quasi rex et princeps patriæ compatriotarum sanctorum primus palmam laudis vendicaret.] Regnavit ille in Orientali Anglia vir Deo devotus, et avita regum prosapia excellens. Qui, cum aliquot annis pacifice provinciæ præfuisset, nulla temporum molliæ virtutem evirare compulsus, Danorum duces Hinguar et Hubba, Northanimbrorum et Orientalium Anglorum depopulaturi provincias venere. Quorum primus regem non resistentem sed armis projectis solo pronum et orantem cepit, et post nonnulla tormenta decapitavit. [Tunc et sedes episcopalis apud Seham, ut supra dixi, et monasterium Heliense, sanctimonialibus effugatis, incensa et solo complanata.] Sed emicuit post necem beati viri transactæ vitæ puritas dignis miraculis. Caput a corpore lictoris

Rolls Series, 1870, Ed. Hamilton.

[It is a matter of general knowledge that the monastery of Saint Edmund is attached to the diocese of the Bishop of Norwich. It will not be thought unreasonable if I now make a brief tribute to the Saint's memory, though I have written concerning him in another work, and in this way I shall be acting in furtherance of the plan which I have formed not to pass by without notice the saints reposing in the several dioceses, after recording the names of the bishops. And I must avow that it is an auspicious circumstance that the first place should be occupied by Saint Edmund, who as a patriot prince and king challenges the first right to the palm of glory among his sainted fellow-countrymen.] Edmund reigned in East Anglia, as a man consecrated to God, and distinguished by his ancient and royal lineage. For many years he had ruled his kingdom in peace, yet without suffering any loss of manliness through the effeminacy of his times, when the Danish leaders, Hinguar and Hubba, arrived to ravage the provinces of Northumbria and East Anglia. Hinguar seized the king, who made no resistance, for he had cast away his arms and bowed to the ground, was engaged in prayer, and after the infliction of various tortures, cut off his head. [Then the bishop's see at Soham, as I have mentioned above, and the monastery of Ely, after the flight of the nuns, were burnt, and levelled with the ground.] But when the

sevitia divisum, dumeta Danis proicientibus occuluerant; quod dum cives quererent, hostem abeuntem vestigiis insecuti, funeri regio justas inferias soluturi, jocunda Dei hausere munera, exanimati capitis vocem expressam omnes ad se lictores¹ invitantem. Lupum, feram carnibus assuetam, lacertis illud circumplexam, innoxiam prætere custodiam; eundem more domestici animalis bajulos post tergum ad tumbam modeste secutum, nullum lesisse, a nullo lesum esse. Tunc pro tempore humi traditum corpus venerabile, tumultuario injecto cespite, terrea gleba superjecta, et exilis pretii lignea capella superstructa. [Sed et domunculam succedenti tempore vepres obtexerant, animisque provinciales memoriam martyris abjecerant.] Affuit ille oscitantibus, semisopitas mentes eorum ad sui reverentiam signis excitans. Et leve quidem ac frigidum sit, sed tamen primum virtutum ejus experimentum, quod subitiam. [Ceci qui baculo viam temptaret, errore nocturno capellam ingressi, lux celitus obvia orbes implevit.] Mox latrunculos eandem edem noctu expilare aggressos, invisibilibus in ipsis conatibus irretivit. Formoso admodum spectaculo, quod præda prædones tenuit, ut nec cepto desistere nec in-

¹ lustratores, *Gesta Regum*.

saintly hero was dead, the spotlessness of his past life was illustrated by appropriate miracles. His head, which had been severed from the body by a barbarous executioner, and was concealed in the bushes into which the Danes had thrown it, was sought by his subjects following closely in the wake of the retiring enemy, with the view of giving due sepulture to the royal corpse; and they received from God a welcome reward, for the lifeless head uttered a call summoning all the searchers to itself. Wonderful! a wolf, a beast accustomed to flesh for its food, embraced the head with its paws, and thus afforded it safe keeping from all harm. Then, like a domesticated animal, the wolf meekly followed, in rear of the bearers, to the grave, doing injury to none, and injured by none. After this, the venerable body was committed temporarily to the ground; on a hasty bed of turf, under a cover of earth; and a wooden chapel was erected over it at no great cost. [As time went on, this lowly resting-place was overgrown by brambles, and the inhabitants of the district lost all recollection of the martyr.] But, though they were unconscious of it, he was present among them, and their sluggish memories were stimulated by miracles to fresh veneration of him.

And though the first exhibition of his powers may seem trivial and uninteresting, yet as it was the first, I will mention it. A blind man was groping his way with a staff, when he entered the chapel at night by mistake, and his eyes were filled with light that was poured upon him from heaven. Not long afterwards some thieves, who attempted to rob the same sacred building by night, were entangled by invisible ropes while actually engaged in the crime. What a beautiful spectacle! The booty made prisoners of the burglars, so that

choata valerent perficere. Quapropter Lundoniæ¹ præsul² plebeis machinæ diuturnam sustulit invidiam, augustius editum super veneranda membra molitus, quæ et miranda incorruptione et lacteo quodam candore gloriam sanctæ animæ prædicabant. Caput reliquo corpori compaginaturn, signum tamen martirii coccinea cicatrice prætendens.

Porro illud humana excedit miracula, hominis mortui crines et unguis pullulare, quos Oswen, quædam sancta mulier, quotannis hos tonderet, illos desecaret, magna veneratione posteris futuros. Sanctæ temeritatis femina, quæ contrectaret artus quibus omnis inferior est mundus.

At non ita Lefstanus effrenatæ audaciæ adolescens, qui sibi corpus martiris minis inflationibus ostendi exegerat, famæ, ut dicebat, incertum fide oculorum ponderare deliberans. Ideoque prærupti ausus penam tulit, amens effectus, et post modicum scaturiens vermibus et mortuus. Novit profecto, quod olim consueverat, novit Edmundus modo facere ;

‘Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.’

Quibus duobus ita omnes sibi Britannis devinxit incolas, ut beatum se in primis astruat qui locum requietionis ejus vel nummo vel pretio illustret. Ipsi reges, aliorum domini, servos

¹ Theodredus, *Gesta Regum*.

² qui apud sanctum Paulum jacet, *Gesta Regum*.

they could neither abandon their project, nor bring to a conclusion the task which they had begun. This occurrence, and the long-standing odium which the use of the vulgar gallows in connection with it brought upon the Bishop of London, led him to erect a more magnificent building over the holy body, which by its miraculous freedom from decay, and its brilliant whiteness, attested the glory of the saintly spirit. The head was found firmly united to the body of which it had formed part. Only, as a symbol of martyrdom, it displayed a crimson scar.

Again, as a marvel exceeding all human experience, the dead man's hair and nails continued to grow, and were trimmed, or pared, every year by a holy woman named Oswen, and preserved for the profound veneration of after generations. She was indeed a woman of saintly rashness to handle those limbs which exceed in value the whole universe!

Far different was the unbridled recklessness of the youth Leofstan, who demanded with arrogant threats that he should have a view of the martyr's body, as, according to his own account, he had a mind to put a questionable hearsay to the test of ocular proof. He was soon overtaken by the penalty of his perilous venture; lost his reason, and after a little while expired, swarming with worms. In good earnest, Edmund still knows, as he did of old, how to deal with men:

'To spare the humble, and abase the proud.'

In one or other of these ways he has laid all the inhabitants of Britain under such obligations to himself that it is considered in the highest degree fortunate to enrich the place of his repose by money or other offerings of value. Even kings,

se illius gloriantur, et coronam ei regiam missitant, magno, si uti volunt, redimentes commercio.

Exactores vectigalium, qui alias bacchantur, fas nefasque juxta metientes, ibi suplices citra fossatum sancti Edmundi litigationes sistunt, experti multorum penam qui perseverandum putarunt. [Fossatum Cnuto rex fieri præcepit, patris sui Suani miserabili fine ad bonum edoctus.]

Note.—The passages in the extract above given which are enclosed in brackets do not occur in William of Malmesbury's earlier work, the *Gesta Regum*. Other differences of importance have been pointed out above. The remaining variations are chiefly of words, or of the arrangement of words, and may be regarded as merely literary amendments. They are therefore not particularly specified.

who are masters of others, think it an honour to be his servants, and are accustomed to send him their royal crowns, which they are glad to redeem at a high price, if they wish to wear them.

The tax-gatherers, who elsewhere run riot, and observe in their dealings no distinction between right and wrong, within the boundary dyke of S. Edmund humbly lay aside their chicanery, mindful of the punishment incurred by many who saw fit to persist in their demands. [This dyke was constructed by direction of King Cnut, who learned a wholesome lesson from the miserable death of his father Swein.]

HENRICI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM

Lib. V.

A.D. 866.—Adelred . . . regni suscepit insignia. Hoc autem anno venit maximus exercitus Paganorum in terram Anglorum, quorum duces fuerunt Hinguar et Ubba, viri strenuissimi sed crudelissimi. Hinguar erat ingentis ingenii, Ubba vero fortitudinis admirandæ. Perendinantes igitur in hyeme in Estangle, inducias et equos ab iis acceperunt, et quietis gratia fortitudini suæ ad tempus pepercerunt.

A.D. 867.—Venit exercitus prædictus, quem Hinguar et Ubba rexerunt in Nordhumbre apud Eoverwic.

A.D. 868.—Adelredus rex, anno tertio regni sui, iuit Snotingham cum fratre suo Alfredo in auxilium Burhredi regis Merce; exercitus namque prædictus venerat Snotingham, et ibi in hyeme fuit. Congregatis igitur omnibus copiis Anglorum cum suos obsessos et viribus impares Hinguarus videret, vulpeculari astutia, verbisque delinitis, inducias ab Anglis impetravit; rediensque Eboracum (A.D. 869) ibi crudeliter uno anno permansit.

A.D. 870.—Sanctus Eadmundus anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXX., Adelredi regis anno quinto, cœli palatia conscendit.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON: HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH*Fifth Book (Rolls Series).*

A.D. 866.—Ethelred . . . assumed the ensigns of royalty. And in this year there came to the land of the English an enormous host of the heathen, who were commanded by Hinguar and Ubba, men of great energy, but also of great cruelty. Hinguar possessed vast ability; Ubba was of amazing courage. They lingered in East Anglia through the winter, and made a truce with the inhabitants and obtained horses from them; but for the sake of quiet they nursed their force for a time.

A.D. 867.—The host above mentioned, under the command of Hinguar and Ubba, advanced north of the Humber to York.

A.D. 868.—King Ethelred, in the third year of his reign, marched on Nottingham with his brother Alfred, to assist Burhred, the king of Mercia; for the enemy's host had reached Nottingham, and stayed there during the winter. But when the whole of the English forces were united, and Hinguar saw that his army was enclosed, and was numerically inferior, with the craftiness of a fox, and with hypocritical professions, he extracted an armistice from the English, and returned to York, where he continued his cruelties for a year.

A.D. 870.—Saint Eadmund ascended to the palace of heaven in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 870, which was the fifth

Exercitus namque prædictus Hinguari regis, veniens per Merce ad Tedforde, ibi in hyeme permansit, clademque maximam genti miserrimæ intulit. Rex vero Eadmundus, magis eligens mortem perferre, quam desolationem suorum videre, captus est ab iis, corpusque sanctissimum sagittis impiorum ad stipitem undique transverberatus; Dei vero clementia multa super eo signavit miracula.

P. 137.—Wilaf ab rege Egbricto victus bellando tributarie sub eo regnum tenuit. Regnum vero Eastangle jam regnis aliis variis modis subjectum fuerat.

Pp. 172-3.—Regnum vero Estangle, quod dudum regnis aliis, ut prædictum est, variis modis subjectum fuerat, nunc reges Westsexe vel Cantiae in dominio tenebant, nunc alicui vel aliquibus dabant. Igitur rex unus ibi erat aliquando; multi aliquando reguli; ultimus tamen Anglorum sub rege Westsexe regnavit ibidem S. Eadmundus, quo interfecto, regnavit Godrun Dacus; postea regnum minutim Daci partiti sunt, fuitque sub eis usque dum Edwardo ex maxima parte subjecta est. Hic igitur regnum East Angle dominio Westsexe contingens explicuit; et jam ad primordia causamque adventus Normannorum pervenimus.

year of Ethelred's reign. The above-mentioned host of King Hinguar moved through Mercia to Thetford, and there abode during the winter, inflicting terrible losses on the unhappy people. Eadmund, their king, who chose rather to suffer death than to be witness of the ruin of his subjects, was captured by the Danes, and his holy body, bound to the stem of a tree, was riddled from every side by the arrows of the miscreants. But God in his mercy displayed many miracles in honour of the martyr.

Wiglaf was defeated in battle by King Egberht, and held the kingdom (of Mercia) as a tributary under him. But the kingdom of East Anglia had before this become subject in one way or another to foreign kingdoms.

The kingdom of East Anglia, which, as has been already mentioned, had for a long while been subject to foreign kingdoms in one way or another, was held at one time under the dominion of the kings of Wessex or Kent; at another time it was assigned by them to an under-king, or to under-kings, so that for a while there would be in that realm a sole king; then again several under-kings. The last of the English, however, who reigned there was Saint Eadmund—in subordination to the King of Wessex—and when Eadmund was killed, Guthrum, the Dane, became king. Later, the kingdom was parcelled out among the Danes in small districts, and remained under them until its almost complete subjection to King Edward. Here ends, accordingly, the history of the kingdom of East Anglia by its incorporation with Wessex. And so we are brought to the origin and commencement of the arrival of the Normans.

CHRONICON FANI SANCTI NEOTI

ANNO DCCCLV, rex Eadmundus, Orientalium Anglorum gloriosissimus, cœpit regnare viii. Kal Ianuarii, id est, die Natalis Domini, anno ætatis suæ xiiii.

Anno DCCCLVI, hoc est anno secundo Karoli Imperatoris tertii, anno vero regni Adheluulfi, Occidentalium Saxonum regis, xviii, Hunberchtus, Orientalium Anglorum antistes, unxit oleo consecravitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosissimum, cum gaudio magno, et honore maximo, in villa regia, quæ dicitur Burna, quia tunc temporis regalis sedes erat, anno ætatis suæ xv, sexta feria, luna xxiiii, die Natalis Domini.

Sanctissimus Deoque acceptus rex Orientalium Anglorum, Eadmundus, ex Antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia,¹ . . . passus est . . . xii kal. Decembris anno Cristi Incarnationis DCCCLXX, Indictione tertia, secunda feria, luna xxii, anno ætatis suæ xxix, anno vero regni sui xvi, et anno etiam xv imperii Karoli tertii Augusti, filii Lodovici Secundi. Hoc est autem anno quinto Adheredi regis Occidentalium Saxonum.

¹ The chronicler, at this point, and throughout a long passage which is not here reproduced, closely follows Abbo.

THE CHRONICLE OF THE PRIORY OF S. NEOT

IN the year 855, King Eadmund, most glorious of the East Anglian sovereigns, began to reign on the eighth day from the Kalends of January, that is, on Christmas Day, in the fourteenth year of his age.

In the year 856, that is, in the second year of the Emperor Charles the third, and in the eighteenth year of the reign of Æthelwolf, king of the West Saxons, Hunbercht, Bishop of the East Anglians, anointed with oil, and consecrated as king, the most glorious Eadmund, amid great rejoicings, and with the highest honour, in the royal town which is called Bures (for at that time it was a royal residence), in the fifteenth year of his age, on the sixth day of the week, the twenty-fourth of the moon's age, being Christmas Day.

The most saintly and to God acceptable king of the East Anglians, Eadmund, a scion of the noble house of the Old Saxons, . . . suffered martyrdom . . . the twelfth day from the Kalends of December (Nov. 20), in the 870th year from the Incarnation of Christ, at the third Indiction, on the second day of the week, and the twenty-second of the moon's age, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth year of his reign, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Charles the third, son to Louis the second. This was in the fifth year of Æthelred, king of the West Saxons.

Sancto rege sic martyrisato, proh dolor! pagani nimium gloriantes per Merciam item in Orientales Anglos transivit, et ibi in loco, qui dicitur Theodforda, hiemaverunt, et totam illam regionem suo dominio subdiderunt, eo quod omnes fortiores et nobiliores ejusdem gentis una cum sancto Rege, sive ante beatum regem, crudeliter occubuerunt.

Anno DCCCXC.—Obiit Guthram rex Paganorum, qui et Athelstanus nomen in Baptismo suscepit. Qui primus apud Orientales Anglos regnavit post passionem sancti regis Eadmundi, ipsamque regionem divisit, coluit, atque primus inhabitavit. Mortuus est itaque anno xiv postquam Baptismum suscepit, mausoleatusque in Villa Regia quæ vocatur Headleaga apud Orientales Anglos.

When the saintly king had thus suffered martyrdom, alas! the heathen, above measure triumphant, re-passed through Mercia into the country of the East Anglians, and there wintered at a place which is called Thetford, and brought the whole of that region under their dominion, for the reason that all the bravest and most noble men belonging to that people had fallen by a cruel death, either with the saintly king, or before the blessed king.

A.D. 890.—Died Guthrum, king of the heathen, who took also in baptism the name of Athelstan. He was the first to reign over the East Anglians, after the martyrdom of the holy King Eadmund, and parcelled out, cultivated and first inhabited that country. His death took place in the fourteenth year after his undergoing the baptismal rite, and he was buried in the Royal Town which is called Hadleigh by the East Anglians.

LESTORIE DES ENGLES SOLUM LA TRANSLACION
MAISTRE GEFFREI GAIMAR

Rolls Series, 1889.

- 2267 E CELS de Kent ont otrie
Ke Ecbrith eit tuit le regne,
E en Suthsexe e en Sudrie,
2270 Par tut ala sa seignurie.
E cil de Hestsexe de lur fie
Li unt ostages envaie.
Pur co la receurent cele genz,
Ke de ses anciens parents
2275 Aveient ainz la terre eue,
E par guere lourent perdue ;
E pur creme des Merceneis
Recurent il Ecbrith li reis
E cil d'Estengle ensement,
2280 Pur la cresse de cele gent.

Of the Brethwaldas.

- 2308 E le quarte out nun Redwold
En Estengle cist rei regnat,
2310 Mult fu prodom, e bel finat.

Of Ecgbert's death and successors.

- 2381 I donc out le secle dure
De la Jesu Nativite

And the men of Kent granted
 That Ecgbryht should have all the kingdom.
 And in Sussex and in Surrey
 His rule went everywhere.
 And the men of Essex for their fiefs
 Sent him hostages.
 This folk received him,
 Because some of his old kinsfolk
 Had once held the land,
 And lost it by war.
 And for fear of the Mercians
 They received Ecgbryht as king,
 And those of East Anglia also,
 For the fear of the same folk.

And the fourth was named Rædwald ;
 In East Anglia this king reigned,
 A right wise man, and well he ended.

Then had the age lasted
 From the Nativity of Christ,

- Huit cenz e trente seit anz
 Si com distrent les clers lisanz ;
 2385 En icel tens, en tel endreit,
 Morust Ecbrith ki tant aveit.
 Co fu celui ke offe chascat ;
 Trente seit anz e un mais regnat ;
 Puis regnat Edelwlf son fiz,
 2390 E Adelstan un rei gentilz ;
 Li uns out Westsexe ; e laltre Kent,
 Suthdreie e Suthsexe ensement.
 E tut voleient chalenger
 Co kout lur pere, a justiser.
- 2479 Cel an meismes, a Sanwiz,
 2480 Refurent les Daneis matiz
 Par Adelstan e par Alchere ;¹
 Adelstan estait al rei frere.
 Li uns estait frere Edelwolf,
 De Hestengle ert meistre rei il sul ;
 2485 Alchere² ert ducs de li tenant.
- 2499 Adelher, li reis ki donc Kent tint.

*The last mentioned was killed a little later in battle in the Isle of
 Thanet.*

- 2504 Poi gaignerent, vies perderent
 Oscis furent Hude e Adelher ;³
 Unc ni purent mielz eschaper.

¹ Adelhere, Hakere, in other versions.

² Adelhere, Alkere, in other versions.

³ Alger, Algier, Alker, in other versions.

Eight hundred and thirty-seven years,
 As clerks who read say.
 At that time, at that place,
 Died Eggbryht who possessed so much.
 This was he whom Offa chased.
 Thirty-seven years and one month he reigned.
 Then Æthelwulf his son reigned,
 And Æthelstan a noble king.
 One had Wessex, the other Kent,
 Surrey and Sussex also.
 And they wished to claim
 To rule all that their father had.

This same year at Sandwich
 The Danes were again defeated
 By Æthelstan and by Ealchere.
 Æthelstan was the king's brother.
 The one was brother to King Æthelwulf,
 He alone was chief king of East Anglia,
 Ealchere was an ealdorman holding of him.

 Ealchere, the king who then held Kent.

Little they gained, lives they lost ;
 Huda and Ealchere were killed,
 They could not escape better.

2569. El tens cestui vint la grant flete ;
 2570. Tel ne vist hom ki ne vist cesta.
 En Hestengle sunt ariuez ;
 Tut livern i vnt soiurnez.
 El Marz, pur escharnissement,
 Triwes donent a cele gent.
 2573. I done se mistrent a chiual
 Li plus preise de lur vassal ;
 E li plusurs sent vnt, es nefz,
 Treska Humbre, sigles leuez ;
 A pie en vait plus de vint mile.

The story of Osbryht of Northumberland, and of Buern or Beorn Brucecarle or le Butzeearle and his wife, is given with a narrative of the events down to the invasion of East Anglia in 870. This is described as follows:—

2861. Puis ralerent en Everwics ;
 Assemblent gent de cel pais.
 Si manderent les Merceneis ;
 Vengent en ost od les Daneis.
 2863. Il vindrent, e la gent del North,
 Od les Daneis treska Teford.¹
 Il vrent ainz triues donees ;
 Sis trouerent aseurez
 Peis e triues lur unt fruisse ;
 2870. Tut le pais vut exille.
 Vns reis trouerent el pais,
 Bon Crestien e Deu amis,

¹ Tiefert, Tiefert, Theford, in other versions.

At this time came the great fleet,
 No man ever saw a fleet who did not see this.
 In East Anglia they landed,
 All the winter they stayed there ;
 In March, in mockery,
 They granted a truce to this folk.
 Then they took horses,
 The best of their men,
 And most of them went in ships.
 As far as the Humber, sails set.
 More than twenty thousand went on foot.

Then they went back to York.
 The folk of the land assembled ;
 They sent for the Mercians ;
 They went in the army with the Danes.
 They came, and the folk of the North,
 With the Danes as far as Thetford.
 They had already made a truce.
 So they thought themselves safe.
 [The Danes] broke peace and truce,
 They harried all the country.
 They found a king in this land,
 A good Christian and a friend of God,

- Eadmund out nun, sainz hom estait ;
Trestut Hestengle mainteneit.
- 2875 Od tant de gent cum cel rei out,
Se combati ; veincre nes pout,
Pur la grant gent ke cil aveient.
Mult ferement se combateient ;
La victorie del champ fust lur.
- 2880 Deus quel damage del seignur,
Del rei Eadmund, ki fu chasce
A un chastel v ert son sie ;
E li païen lont parsey.
Eadmund lur est encontre eissy.
- 2885 Tut le primer kil encontrerent
Unt pris, e puis demanderent,
'V est Eadmund ? dites le nus.'
'Io volontera, tut a estrus.
Tant cum io ere en cel refui,
- 2890 Eadmund i ert e io od lui,
Quant men turnai il sen turnat,
Ne sai sil vus eschaperat.'
Ore est en Deu del rei la fin,
E en Iesu, a ki est acilin.
- 2895 Cil kil lont prist lunt tant tenuz,
Ke Iwar e Vbbe sunt venuz.
Plusurs de lur venuz i sunt,
Ki reconurent Eadmund seint.
E quant co sourent, cil malfee,
- 2900 Mult cruelement vnt comande
Kil renaiast la lei diuine,
Crist qui nasqui de la Virgine.

Eadmund was his name, a holy man,
 He held all East Anglia.
 With all the men he had
 He fought ; he could not conquer
 Because of the many men the Danes had.
 Very fiercely they fought,
 The victory of the field was theirs.
 O God ! what a loss was the lord,
 The King Eadmund, who was driven
 To a castle where his seat was,
 And the heathen pursued him.
 Eadmund came out to meet them ;
 The first who met him
 Took him and then asked,
 ' Where is Eadmund ? tell us.'
 ' Willingly, and at once ;
 ' When I was in flight
 ' Eadmund was there, and I with him.
 ' When I turned to flee, he turned,
 ' I know not if he will escape you.
 ' Now the end of the king rests with God,
 ' And with Jesus whom he obeys.'
 Those who took him kept him
 Until Ingvar and Ubba came.
 Many of their folk came with them
 Who recognised Saint Eadmund,
 And when they knew him, these unbelievers
 Cruelly bade him
 Renounce God's law,
 And Christ who was born of the Virgin.

Le reis lur dist, ke nun ferat,
 Mes fermement en Lui crerat ;
 2905 Ke firent donc cil adverser ?
 A un arbre lunt fait lier.
 Puis si ont dit e mult iure,
 Destrangle mort lunt turmente.
 Donc manderent pur archers ;
 2910 Al ri trestrent od arcs manuers.
 Tant i vnt treit e tant lance,
 Ke son cors fu si effiche
 Des darz ke treistrent cil felon,
 Com est la pel del hericon
 2915 Espes de poignantes brochetes,
 Dont del gardin ported pometes,
 Vncore, co qui, pussent treire,
 Ainz ke li reis volsist rien feire
 De quanque cil felon voleient
 2920 Ki son seint cors si baillisseient.
 Donc demanderunt un felon,
 Coran Colbe¹ ont cil a non ;
 La teste al seint cil ad trenche ;
 Issi fu Eadmund martirize.
 2925 Mes si Gillemar² eust leisir
 Il parlast plus del seint martyr :
 Pur co que aillurs en est la veie,
 E les lescons, e lestorie,
 Sil ad leisse ceste feie

¹ 'Ne sai cum cil auet a nun' is another version, and yet another has 'Curan Cocba.'

² 'Gaimar' in other versions.

The king told them he would not do it,
 But would firmly believe in Him.
 What then did these enemies ?
 They tied him to a tree,
 Then they told him, and swore hard,
 That he should be tormented with a strange death.
 Then they sent for their archers.
 They shot at the king with long bows.
 So have they shot him, and so pierced him
 That his body was stuck as full
 Of the darts which these wretches shot
 As is the skin of an urchin
 Thick with prickly spines
 When he steals apples from the garden.
 Till now, I trow, they might have shot at him
 Before the king would have done anything
 Of what these wretches wished,
 Who so treated his holy body.
 Then they called a wretch
 Whose name was Coran Colbe ;
 He cut off the saint's head.
 Thus was Eadmund martyred,
 But, if Gaimar had leisure,
 He would say more of the holy martyr,
 Because his life is elsewhere,
 And the reading, and the story.
 He has left it this time

- 2930 Pur le storie kont comence.
Cil felon rei, Vbbe e Iwar,
Co firent de la seinte char ;
Quant co vnt fait, diloc turnerent,
Dreit vers Redinges en alerent.
2935 Mes lentement i sunt alez,
Viles destruistrent e citez ;
E Crestiens vont osciant
E lur eglises destruiant.

For the history which he had begun.

These cruel kings, Ubba and Ingvar,
Did thus with his holy body ;
When they had done this, they departed thence,
Straight to Reading they went ;
But slowly they marched,
Towns they destroyed and cities ;
They killed Christians as they went,
And destroyed their churches.

GALFRIDUS DE FONTIBUS

Hereford Cathedral Library MS., P. iii. 1.

REGIS excubiis a puero insistenti domino et patri Ordingo abbatis prerogatiua precellenti uester Galfridus. Illius ciuitatis ineffabile gaudium cuius¹ participatio in id ipsum. Sepius me presente a quibusdam conserta est narratio in sancto fratrum uestri cenobii collegio de patre et infantia beati Ædmundi inuictissimi. Vbi quisque prout didicerat in medium conferebat super quibus unum ad alterum postea conferrebat. Cumque inter eos referrem quedam ab aliis michi tradita quedam uiua lectione cognita preceperunt michi quasi posteris profutura membranis recondere. Quorum inportuno humiliter refragans precepto diu subtraxi ab onere michi inposito. Nuper uero tefordiam diuertens religionis de cunis boni propositi et² a teneris annis exemplar sistricius sancte congregationis uestre prior industrius iussit a me dudum relata sibi et sociis³ propalare

¹ Erasure after cuius.² Above line.³ MS. *sociis*.

GEOFFREY OF WELLS

The translation is from the Cambridge MS. used by Mr. Arnold in his *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey*. (*Rolls Series*.)

To my Lord Ording, attendant on the person of the king from boyhood, and exalted to the dignity of Abbot, Geoffrey of Wells wishes the unspeakable joy of that city, citizenship in which is itself joy. It has often happened that in my presence the story of the parentage and infancy of the blessed Eadmund, the most holy king, and unconquered martyr of our Lord Jesus, has been told by some of the holy confraternity of monks owing you obedience. On such occasions each would contribute to the others such information as he himself had obtained; and thereupon one would afterwards confer with another. I, too, used to furnish a few particulars which I had gained by word of mouth from others, or learned from reading aloud. And so the brethren desired me to commit these facts to writing, as being likely to profit a future generation. This importunate desire I endeavoured in my humility to evade, and for some time excused myself from undertaking the task that was imposed upon me. But a short time ago, that ornament of the monastic order, Siceric, a man who from his youth up has been occupied in good works, and is the diligent prior of your holy congregation, came to Thetford on a visit, and directed me to publish the narrative which had been related previously by me to himself and his fellows, and, speaking as

deinde imperiose hec eadem uice uestra sub festinatione apicibus annotare. Compellente eum ad hec uenerabili collega suo Gocelino¹ cui magis hec competerent scribere quam² michi inperito utpote uiro in liberalibus artibus et sacris paginis aprime erudito. Quibus abeuntibus cepi³ animum inpositis imponere et talia in memetipsum reuoluere. dominorum est seruis imperare. seruorum dominis obtemperare.⁴ Cum iubet dominus iustum est ut obediat seruus. Itaque mi domine amantissime abbatum honestissime quia dignatio uestra per pretaxatum priorem precepit. seruus uester per omnia deuotus humiliter obedit. De aduentu scilicet patroni nostri a saxoniam in angliam. qualem me contigit didicisse hystoriam huiusmodi relatione ad posterorum transmittito notitiam. Anglie regnum plurimis regibus olim multipartitum fuisse multis scripturarum in locis autentice docent hystorie quorum successio per diuersas prouincias regnando non defecit. quousque rex illustris edstanus regni habenas⁵ suscepit et primus de regibus solus monarchiam optinuit. regio uero illa que⁶ estengle dicitur pre aliis terre illius partibus preclarior et pulchrior esse dinoscitur. continens in se duas prouincias famosas Norfulchiam atque sudfulchiam. utramque fertilem utramque locupletem ubi claruerint reges nobiles et illustres quorum triumphis et legibus christianus adhuc letatur populus quorum sacro stemate ordo gratulatur ecclesiasticus horum extremus ante gloriosum regem Ædmun-

¹ no above line.² In margin.³ Above line and also in margin.⁴ ob above line.⁵ A above line.⁶ Above line.

your representative, bade me imperatively to set down the facts at once in writing. To this step he was impelled by his venerable colleague Gocelin, who would have been far more competent than I am to undertake this work, as, while I am inexperienced in such matters, he is a man of unique learning both in classical studies and in sacred literature. On their departure, however, I set myself to consider the task enjoined upon me, and to turn the subject over in my mind. The master's business is to command his servant; the servant's to execute the orders of his master. Given the master's order, it follows that the servant must obey. And therefore, my lord, and most exemplary of abbots, since your eminence has given the command through the prior above mentioned, your devoted servant humbly obeys. The story of the Saint's arrival, that is, from Saxony into England, I bequeath to the notice of posterity in such wise as it happens to have been brought to my knowledge.

That the kingdom of England was in days past divided amongst a number of kings, we are assured by many passages of authentic history. Indeed the succession of the dynasties of these kings was maintained without fail in the different provinces, down to the time when King Athelstan assumed the reins of sovereignty, and first of all the kings established a monarchy. Now that region which is called East Anglia is recognised as being fairer and more illustrious than any other district. It contains within its limits two famous provinces, Norfolk and Suffolk. Both are fertile, both are opulent; and in them have flourished noble and brilliant sovereigns whose exploits and laws are still a source of exultation to the Christian laity, as is also their saintly lineage to the ecclesiastical orders.

The last to reign of these kings before the glorious King

dum regnauit rex Offa iustitie cultor et pacis amator qui prefate genti estangle regia excellentia honeste presidens multo tempore sine herede uitam transigens crebra meditatione¹ arripere proposuit . quod postea feliciter compleuit . sancta uidelicet loca si ei concederetur ierosolimis inuisere in loco ubi steterunt pedes domini adorare heredem sibi ab eo secundum eius nutum impetrare . disposuit etiam se profecturum per regem saxonum cognatum suum cuius sibi perutile didicerat fore consilium ad perficiendum tunc iter illud tam arduum ad quem perueniens regio est honore susceptus . et a regni primatibus plurimum honori habitus utpote rex et regis saxonici propinquus . cuius aliquantisper illuc degentis obsequio deputatur illustris iuuentutis² ad seruiendum electio. Inter quos duo regis filii obsequebantur . quorum natu posterior Ædmundus nuncupabatur speciali solercia regiis excubiis inherens propensiore industria ac si patri proprio seruiens considerans itaque rex peregrinus iuuenem studiosum et elegantem . et toto annisu sibi famulantem eius delectabatur colloquio gratulabatur obsequio . honestorum gesta et prouerbia ei referens . illud salomonis prouide super eo reuoluens. Vidisti hominem uelocem in opere suo coram regibus stabit . nec erit ignobilis. Cuius relatibus aurem compenter³ dedit . et relata mentis archano sollers auditor

¹ *ne* written above line.² *s* written above.³ *Sic*.

Eadmund was King Offa, who ensued justice and loved peace. In exemplary manner he exerted the kingly dignity over the above-named people of East Anglia; and as he lived for a long while without begetting an heir, he often revolved in his mind a design (which he afterwards happily accomplished), of visiting, should it be granted to him to do so, the holy places at Jerusalem, and of praying, on the very spot where our Lord's feet had rested, that of His sovereign goodness an heir might be granted to him. Accordingly he made arrangements to pass through the dominions of the king of the Saxons, his relative, understanding that his advice would be of great utility in the accomplishment of so arduous a journey. On reaching that country, he was welcomed with royal honours, and with all possible respect by the princes and nobles, as became his position as a king, and as a relation of the Saxon king. As a special mark of the civility of that people, a selection of young men of the highest rank was assigned to wait upon him, and amongst these, the two sons of the king were in attendance, of whom the younger bore the name of Eadmund, and was particularly attentive and assiduous in his services to King Offa, on whom he waited with greater care than he showed even to his own father. So it happened that the royal guest, taking note of the studied civility and gallant bearing of the youth, and of his devoted ministrations, was delighted with his conversation, and gratified by his attentions. Here was an illustration of the deeds of the worthy, and of the Proverbs. Was not the reflection of Solomon applicable? 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings and not be without honour' (he shall not stand before mean men.—Auth. Vers.). Offa readily listened to Eadmund's talk, and, as a careful listener, stored

recondidit. Processu uero temporis in se ipso enituit . quicquid honestatis ab eo percipere meruit. Et quia inter omnes studiosius ei obsecutus est potiori super omnes remuneratione ab eodem donatus est. Dispositis interim peregrinationi necessariis ualedicens regi et magnatibus saxoniciis . accepta abundi licentia a cunctis christo commendatur . salubria et ei prospera ut eueniant optatur. Tum siquidem amorem erga iuuenem Ædmundum pandens . et coram cunctis eum amplectens anulum aureum illi porrexit . sepiusque deosculans dixit . fili karissime Ædmunde accipe nostre cogitationis et mutue dilectionis monumentum . ut memineris me sollerti obsequio tuo esse obnoxium . super quo gratias tibi refero et mercedem paternam ex dei prouidentia in corde reseruo. Cum ergo Ædmundus accepisset anulum alacris . pater eius carnalis hoc audito et uiso subrisit . eique quasi aludendo dixit. Eia Ædmunde siccine me reiecto . elegisti regem estangle in patrem. Amodo sicut filio tibi prouideat . et tua ei sollertia sicut patri adhereat. Quorsus¹ enim michi hominem educare alienum ? Delectatus itaque rex peregrinus huius responsi alogiis iteratis Ædmundum amplexibus mulcet et osculis et anulum demonstrans ab ipso acceptum in regni promotione . intueri inquit iam omnino mi fili

¹ *rous* in margin.

up his sayings in the recesses of his memory. At a later time the king himself displayed the virtues he had learned from the boy.

Now, Eadmund had been the most studious of all in attention to the king, and so he obtained from him a recompense exceeding that awarded to all others, when Offa, having in the interval completed the necessary arrangements for his journey, bade adieu to the king and nobles of Saxony, and took his leave, commended by the entire court to the care of Christ, and bearing their good wishes for a safe and prosperous issue. At this moment he revealed his heartfelt affection for the boy Eadmund, and embracing him in the presence of them all, presented him with a gold ring, and said, as he kissed him again and again, 'Eadmund, my dearest son, accept this as a token of our relationship and of our mutual friendship that you may bear in mind how much beholden I am to you for your careful attention, for which I return you many thanks, and keep in my breast a paternal reward which shall some day become yours in God's providence.' Thereupon Eadmund eagerly accepted the ring, but his father in the flesh smiled to see and hear him, and said to him as if in jest, 'Hulloa, Eadmund, is it in this way that you have cast me off, and chosen the king of East Anglia for your father? then henceforth he must provide for you, and you must diligently cleave to him as being your father. It is not worth my while to bring up another man's son.' So the foreign king, delighted at this pleasant response, with affectionate embraces and looks, again caressed him. Then he showed the boy another ring, which on his elevation to the throne he had received from the bishop, and said, 'My son Edmund, now mark with all you

Ædunde cuiusmodi sit anulus iste . ut si absens aliquid tibi per hec intersignia intimauro tu et filiali non differas complere obsequio . vt enim astantium percipit¹ multitudo habeo tibi prouidere sicut filio karissimo. Discedens igitur cum apparatu non modico . arduo itinere et prolixo post multos labores emenso sancta ierosolimorum ad loca iuxta uotum attigit . laudum et orationum libamina sedulus optulit. (Comendatis deinde resurrectioni dominice regno patria et gente felicis uoti feliciter compos effectus . cum sociis regreditur alacris et letus. Qui antequam remeando peruenisset ad riuum quam nostrates sancti Georgii dictum brachium quia non est ut legitur in homine uia eius . alius ei quam parabat successit euentus. Non tamen deo disponente contra suimet salutem nec ad sui regni deiectionem . languore itaque correptus socios accersiuit . breuiter de regni statu et pace cum illis contulit et ad quem de successionem tendebat huiusmodi uerbis innotuit. Noscis quantam pariat iacturam dissensio preualentibus quibus amica est ambitio familiaris elatio. Ea propter in regno consulendo uitari non² oportet quod iustitie et pacis esse moderamen debet. Vt ergo in rege eligendo omnis inter uos prorsus obstruatur contentio michi successorem uobis strenuum designo gubernam-

¹ Corr. from *percepit*.

² non written above.

attention what this ring is like, so that, if in my absence I shall send you, by means of this token, any behest, you may not delay the fulfilment of it in filial obedience. As the crowd of bystanders has guessed, I have to provide for you as for one extremely dear.' And so the king put to sea with an immense equipment, and after a long and arduous journey accomplished with much labour, he reached the holy places of Jerusalem in accordance with his pious resolve, and there he diligently offered the libations of praise and prayer. After which, he implored a blessing on the realm and country of our Lord's resurrection, and on the people, and having fortunately achieved his fortunate wish, retraced his steps with his companions in cheerful gladness. But before he had arrived on his homeward journey at the river which travellers call St. George's arm, to show that, as the proverb has it, a man's goings are not in his own power, a fate overtook him far other than that for which he was hoping. It was not, indeed, a fate adverse to his own salvation, or tending to the abasement of his kingdom. But he was seized with illness, and so summoned his fellow-travellers, conferred with them for a little while on the state of his realm, and the securing of its peace, and intimated to them his intentions as to a successor to the following effect:—'You know what enormous mischief is brought about by dissensions, and that their prevalence is favourable to ambition, and closely related to usurpation. Consequently in arranging the affairs of the kingdom we must avoid this diabolical venom, and secure the ascendancy of justice and peace. And, therefore, to eliminate wholly all cause of contention among you in the choice of a king, I designate as a successor to myself, and as a strenuous ruler over you, one not unknown to you, namely, the

torem. Cognati scilicet mei regis saxonici filium uobis non incognitum Ædmundum morum honestate preditum . corporis forma elegantem sapientia¹ et moribus prestantem. Anulum quoque pretaxatum eis porrexit ut illi propter² pro intersignis deferrent precepit . deinde percepta ab eis fide cum sacramentis . pro hiis que iniunxerat complendis inter manus eorum rebus humanis sacro uitiatico³ munitus excessit. Ad quem ut incunctanter credimus nullus inimici preualuit accessus . quia in christo obiit rex humilis et peregrinus. Non autem arbitrandus est iste . offa ille merciorum non rex set tyrannus iniquus a quo beatus Ethelbrictus⁴ dolis circumuentus . magnis suppliciis attrectatus et ad ultimum decollatus legitur . nec ille alter nobilis offa orientalium saxonum rex insignis qui teste beda christi amore ductus . propter euuangelium regnum . uxorem . liberos et gentem reliquit profectusque peregre in urbe roma constantino papa presidente . attonsus in monachico habitu uitam compleuit et ad uisionem beatorum apostolorum in celis diu desideratam uenit. Neuter inquam illorum de quo agimus ille extitit set illorum regum qui per spatium sexaginta vnus annorum in estangle ante sanctum Ædmundum regnauerunt iste offa ultimus exstiterat. Quo sepulto saxoniam gradu concito⁵ angli repedarunt regis mandata Ædmundo intersigna detulerunt . et quasi ui exactoria⁶ illum in regem petierunt. Rex uero cognati regis morte agnita tristatus est cui utriusque

¹ *sapientia—prestantem* in margin.

² Partly erased.

³ *Sic.*

⁴ *Est.*

⁵ The symbol 9=con inserted above line.

⁶ The MS. is written thus, *m-exactoria*, originally two words, but here connected by the -; it must be, I think, *ui exactoria*. The Camb. MS. has *ui exactoria*.

son of my relative, the king of Saxony, Eadmund, who is not only distinguished by his physical beauty, but excels also in wisdom and strength.' He then handed to them the ring to which reference has already been made, and laid upon them his command that they should deliver it as a token to Eadmund; and after this he obtained from them their promise upon oath that they would carry out his injunctions, and so in their presence took leave of this world. I believe, without hesitation, that no assaults of the enemy prevailed against him, for the lowly pilgrim-king slept in Christ.

I must here observe that the Offa of whom I have been speaking must not be confounded either on the one hand with Offa of Mercia, that iniquitous tyrant rather than king, by whom Saint Ethelbert was craftily beguiled, and, as is related, after undergoing severe tortures, was eventually beheaded; or, on the other hand, with that noble Offa, the illustrious king of the East Saxons, who, moved by love of Christ, and for the gospel's sake, left kingdom, and wife, and children, and kindred, and, travelling to a far country, finished his days in the city of Rome under Pope Constantine, shaven and attired as a monk, and thus passed to the long-desired vision of the blessed apostles in heaven. With neither of these, I repeat, must the subject of my present narrative be identified; but our Offa was the last in order of those kings who, during the period of sixty-one years before Saint Eadmund, ruled in East Anglia.

After his burial, his comrades made their way as quickly as possible back to Saxony, and handed to Eadmund the token, and delivered to him the message of the king. They demanded his acceptance of the sovereignty with what seemed almost compulsory force. But Eadmund's father, on learning the news

ordinis populus collacrimatus est filium suum Ædmundum in tam remotam patriam mittere detrectat . consilium tamen super hoc ab episcopis et regni primoribus interrogat . qui omnes laudant in commune . ut dispositioni non refragetur diuine asserentes esse scriptum non est sapientia . non est consilium contra dominum. Cumque rex adhuc annuere differret . et utrobique anceps super utriusque gentis allegatione deliberaret quoddam presagium eius occurrit memorie . dignum presenti esse¹ inserendum hystorie. Quedam namque² matrona ingenua degens in urbe roma . natione greca pietatis operibus post uiri mortem assueta . prophetie spiritu sublimabatur cuius gratia plerumque profutura multis preconabatur . huius colloquio dum rex idem uteretur apud romam ante Ædmundi primordia . ierat enim orationis causa ad uisenda apostolorum limina . cepit ab ea diligi deuotione singulari excoli in tantum honorari vt³ stupori et amori suspecto deputaretur quod tam crebris obsequiis ab ea frequentaretur . Temporis uero processu . Ædmando iam edito et aliquantisper adulto causa regie peregrinationis iterante matrona regi presentiam sui adhibuit . set solitam in exequendo reuerentiam non exhibuit. Vnde rege admirante et ut ei cause ueritatem propalaret compellente compulsa est ea que circa illum uiderat magnalia dicere. Domine mi rex

¹ *et* = *esse* inserted above line.

³ *ut* above line.

² *que* inserted above line.

of his kingly relative's death, was greatly affected, and his subjects, lay and clerical, joined with him in the display of grief. The king was reluctant to despatch his son Eadmund to so distant a country; however, he took the opinion of his bishops on the point, and they were unanimous in recommending that he should not oppose himself to the divine dispositions, and reminded him of the Scripture, 'There is no wisdom or counsel against the Lord.' But the king still delayed his assent to the proposal, and continued to balance doubtfully the arguments of both orders of his people, when there occurred to him the recollection of a certain prediction which is worthy to be inserted in the present history. It happened that a matron of high lineage, a Roman by birth, who after the death of her husband had devoted herself to works of mercy, was exalted by the spirit of prophecy, by virtue of which she frequently foretold events to come to the advantage of her hearers. The conversation of this lady was enjoyed by the king in the city of Rome before the birth of Eadmund, (for he had visited the resting-places of the apostles for the sake of praying there,) and she entertained for him so singular a regard and devotion, and so greatly cherished and honoured him that suspicion attributed to infatuation and passion the frequency and fervour of her association with him. But in process of time, when Eadmund had been brought into the world and was beginning to grow into childhood, for the reason which I have mentioned, the matron, though she continued her acquaintance with the king, did not display her wonted deference in intercourse with him. This astonished the king, and as he obliged her to explain the truth, she was compelled to declare the marvellous phenomena which she had witnessed about him

non ¹ mireris inquit . dudum enim dum tue presentie assisterem et tecum colloquium mutuum haberem quasi globus solaris michi circa pectus tuum apparebat . igneos lucis radios spargens stupore uehementi animum meum inuolvens . Vnde in fama et potentia te a uero sole sublimandum coniciebam . uel stirpem de tuo sanguine processuram humana corda in christi amore circumquaque accensuram. Nunc uero perpendens regiam excellentiam tante gratie thesauro carere estimo te incestu uel alio facinore² tanto dei priuatum munere. Cumque rex de omnibus his conscientia teste se liberum fateretur in nuper natum Ædmundum huiusmodi coniecturam conuertit . super quo spes bona concepta nequaquam eum fefellit . his itaque ad memoriam reductis et per ordinem sicut scripta sunt recitatis sese in lacrimis dedit . predictæ petitioni clementer consensit. Tandem angli regium adepti assensum recesserunt deducentes Ædmundum . dei gratia eos preueniente et subsequente qui iuxta prophetam uocat auem ab oriente . et de longinquo uirum uoluntatis sue. Cumque intrassent oceanum diuertentes ad borealem partem orientalium anglorum . appulerunt ad promunctorium paruum et pulcrum . quod usque hodie maidenebure appellatur et latine uirginalis thalamus interpretatur. A quo promunctorio quasi ad unius sagitte iactum siccum pedestres transmeauerunt fluminis alueum. Rudis uero aduena Ædmundus procumbens in oratione . in spatiosa iuxta

¹ $\bar{n}$ = non above line.

² ci above line.

‘Sire,’ she said, ‘be not astonished; long since, when I was in your company, and was engaged with you in mutual conversation, I noticed what seemed like the orb of the sun around your majesty’s breast; it emitted fiery rays of light, and affected my mind with violent amazement. I interpreted it to mean, either that you would be exalted by the true Sun to fame and power, or that a scion of your blood would far and wide enkindle the hearts of men with the love of Christ. Now, however, bearing in mind what is the excellence of kings, I am driven to think that you have been deprived, by the guilt of unchastity or other fault, of this great privilege from God, and therefore lack that precious gift of His grace.’ The king on his part asseverated, on the witness of his conscience, that he was clear of all misdeeds, and the lady’s conjectures were turned towards the recently born Eadmund, of whom the favourable hopes that she had entertained had never deceived her. All this recurred to his memory, and was rehearsed, item by item, as I have written it. Then the king burst into tears, and graciously acceded to the request which has been described. At length the English, being in possession of the royal assent, took their departure, carrying Eadmund with them, preceded and followed by the grace of God, who, in the words of the prophet, calleth the fowl from the East, and the man of his pleasure from afar. They shaped their course to the northern part of East Anglia, and, entering the high seas, drew to shore at a pretty little headland which to this day is known by the name of Maydenebure (in Latin, *Virginalis Thalamus*, ‘bower of the maid’), and, starting thence, at about a bowshot’s distance crossed on foot the dry channel of a river. Eadmund, as became a newly arrived traveller, fell on his knees in the broad

flumen planitie¹ orationem specialiter pro patria illa fudit . cuius orationis uirtutem terra adiacens ostendit. Nam uilla cui pertinet locus ubi applicuit et ubi orauit uberiores segetes ex agricultura pre aliis terris habere consueuit . ubi etiam mox ut ab oratione surrexit et equum ascendit duodecim limpidissimi fontes de terra eruperunt qui adhuc moderno tempore non sine intuentium admiratione decurrunt . et delectabili ac festino murmure iugiter defluentes in salo descendunt. Quorum aquis plurimi languidi abluti pristinae sanitati sunt restituti. Remotis etiam pro infirmitate siue alia incomodi de causa ad potandum efficax sanitas defertur aqua. Postquam uero idem Ædmundus regnum optinuit . locum illum familiariter dilexit . ac prope fontes in eminenti loco regale domicilium condidit . viri itaque memorati deduxerunt Ædmundum ad quamdam urbem antiquam iuxta priorum traditionem a rege athla conditam que athleburgh eius dicitur ex nomine id est ciuitas athle . vniuersalis uero inimici membris agentibus . pro regni appice pre-

¹ first i above line.

open space which bordered the river, and offered a special prayer for that country. Of the efficacy of this prayer the neighbouring district was witness, for the village to which the spot where he landed, and prayed, belonged, has ever been remarkable for agricultural crops surpassing those of other soils in East Anglia. At that place also, as he rose from his knees, and mounted his horse, there broke from the ground twelve springs of extraordinary clearness, which continue to flow, even in these days, to the admiration of all who behold them as they glide perpetually to the sea with a pleasant and cheerful murmur. And many are the sick persons who, by ablution in their waters, have been restored to pristine health; while even to those at a distance, and suffering from infirmity or other ailment, these waters, so effectually salubrious, are brought for drinking purposes. It may well be supposed that Saint Eadmund, after he had attained to the regal dignity, was peculiarly attached to this spot; indeed, he erected a royal residence there, on a rising ground near the springs. There is, moreover, something appropriate in the name, 'Hunstanton,' by which the township is called; and the interpretation of the word is suitable and pretty; it means the town of the honeyed-stone. One may take it to refer to the suavity of the manners of the inhabitants, as well as to the unconquerable sturdiness of their character. Well, the men of whom I have spoken conducted Eadmund with due precaution to a city of antiquity, which, having been founded, according to old tradition, by King Athla, is by derivation from his name called Attleborough, that is, the city of Athla. But owing to the activity of the instruments of the universal enemy, who perversely disparaged Eadmund's fitness for the crown of the realm, his sojourn

prosper¹ decertantibus infra ipsius urbis² menia per annum integrum deguit . in quo spatio psalterium quod in saxoniam ceperat perdidicit . Quod diuine pietatis prouidentia factum credimus . ut diuinis et³ patriis uacans legibus accepto postea regno nullam consequeretur infamiam pro penuria regiam discernendi et promulgandi⁴ sententiam . Non enim decet regni consistorium ascendentem iura ignorare et legem ne forte si populus deuiet ipse qualiter inducat ignoret . Interea sinister rumor regionem impleuit et⁵ inhabitantes timor ingens pertulit . transmarini et enim quidam piratice crudelitati insistentes norfolcensis prouincie crebris irruptionibus depopulabantur fines . set et regum collateralium infesta ambitio . minabatur eos uel suo subicere imperio . uel lamentabili disperdere exterminio . Conuento itaque populo . de rege eligendo questio agitur quem episcopus cum primoribus de Ædmondo alloquitur . Ædmondum illis⁶ necessarium regio sceptro dignum regis saxonici filium . regis estangle propinquum eiusdem etiam defuncti mandatum intimat . eorumque assensum super hoc impetrat . cunctus itaque uulgus pari consensu ac si uir unus ad prefatam

¹ 2nd *r* above line and *t* corr. to *p*, thus *prepospere*^r ; originally *prepostere*.

² in margin.

³ *et* above line.

⁴ *et promulgandi* in margin.

⁵ *et* above line.

⁶ *illis—dignum* in margin.

within the walls of that city was protracted for an entire year. In that period he completely mastered the Psalter which he had begun to learn in Saxony. We may believe that this was due to the divine providence and mercy, to the end that when engaged, after his acquisition of the sovereignty, in the administration of his country's laws, he should ensue nothing that was unworthy, through incapacity to frame and deliver sentence, since it is unbecoming that the occupant of the royal judgment-seat should be ignorant of laws and rights ; otherwise, if haply his people go astray, he will lack the knowledge which would bring them back to the right way.

In the meantime, sinister rumours pervaded the country, the inhabitants of which were smitten with apprehensions of the gravest kind. On the one hand, the borders of the East Anglian province were being harried by the repeated incursions of strangers from over the sea, who plied incessantly their cruel business of piracy ; on the other hand were to be faced the ambitions of bordering kings, who, on receipt of the tidings of the death of King Offa, threatened to bring upon the natives lamentable ruin and extirpation, if not to annex the country to their own dominions. In this state of things a folk's meeting was convened to consider the question of electing a king. The assembly was addressed by the bishop, who acted with the nobles, in support of Eadmund. It was urged that Eadmund was a necessity to them ; he was personally worthy of the royal sceptre, he was a son of the Saxon king, and a near relative of the late king of East Anglia ; whose mandate, delivered on the point of death, was notified to the people ; and their assent to the proposal was urgently demanded. In response, the whole populace, with one consent and like one

urbem cucurrit et Ædmundum rapiens in medium deduxit. Facta autem in illum acclamatione christi clementiam attollentes pari deuotione leti sudfulchiam deduxerunt et in uilla burum¹ ad regni fastigium promouerunt. Est autem burum¹ uilla corone antiquitus regie certus limes exassyæ et sudfulchie sita super staram fluuium cursu rapidissimum. Astante humberto tunc uenerabili antistite ipso die in sacris agente et Ædmundum in regem consecrante. Hoc autem factum est in die natiuitatis regis regum omnium . qui transfert regna et dominatur in regno hominum et iuxta daniellem cuicumque uoluit dat illud . Adepto itaque tanto apice . sapientia eum docente omni creatrice . qualem deo . qualem populo se exhibuerit . quanto mentis ardore . misericordie operibus institerit quam celibem sanctarum uirtutum armoniam adquesierit si plenius lector scire desiderat textum in quo martirium eius conseritur relegat . et quia de illis erat . quibus apostolicus congruit sermo . bonus odor sumus deo in omni loco . in his qui pereunt² salui fiunt . cum ipsius boni odoris fragrantia undique fragraret . id est honeste uite fama longe lateque claresceret . sicut bene agentem quidam diligentes . bono odore eius feliciter uixerunt sic eundem quidam odio habentes .

¹ MS. *burum*.² In margin.

man, hurried to the city above mentioned ; Eadmund was seized, and set in their midst. He was greeted with acclamation. Then, with reverent praise to Christ for his mercies, they conducted Eadmund with joy and devotion to Suffolk, and raised him to the regal dignity at the town of Bures, with the assistance of Humbert, the venerable prelate, by whom Eadmund was anointed and consecrated king. Bures, it should be mentioned, was of old a town belonging to the Crown, and is the boundary mark between Essex and Suffolk, being situated on the Stour, a river which, summer and winter, flows with extreme rapidity.

The event which has been related took place on the day of the Nativity of the King of kings, who transfers kingdoms from one to another, and is Lord above all human sovereignty which He assigns to whom He pleaseth. Eadmund, then, was exalted to the throne. How, with wisdom, the universal creative power for his instructress, he conducted himself in relation to God, and in relation to his people ; how ardently he devoted himself to works of mercy ; how harmoniously combined all chaste and holy virtues, I will advise any of my readers who desire further information, to study in the book in which his martyrdom is described. Since also he was one of those to whom the utterance of the Apostle is appropriate : ' We are a sweet savour to God in every place, both in those who are perishing and in those who are saved,' it followed that, as the fragrance of his sweet savour was shed in every direction, or in other words, as the fame of his virtuous life grew in brilliance far and wide, the well-doers who loved him, lived happily in his good odour, while those who cherished a hatred of him, because of that same good odour, came to an unhappy

eodem odore infelicitate perierunt. Amasti inquit augustinus bene agentem uixisti bono odore. Inuidisti bene agenti mortuis¹ es bono odore. Ex quibus fuit lodebroth prediues et famosus . homo fraudulentus et flagitiosus cuius nomen interpretatum sonat odiosus riuus . ex quo riuo emanauit odibile putredinis flumen . execrabile stirpis germen tres uidelicet filii eiusdem Inguar . hubba . et bern. Isti in aquilonis sinu dacorum propter gothos commanentes ex antiqua consuetudine piraticam rabiem exercentes latrociniiis et depredationibus ex toto se mancipationem et plurimas prouincias crudeli exterminio² dederant. Est enim gens corporis mole ardua et fortis . armorum genere terribilis gothorum soboles et dictos se putant³ dacos quasi dagos de gothorum uidelicet stirpe creatos . qui tamen non tantum confidebant in armis quantum in hubbe artibus demoniacis et in quibus inuebatur maleficiis et uirulentis prestigiis . fuit enim ex toto iniquitatis minister et sibi obsequentibus artis matheseos magister. Tantaque securitate huic arti inoleuerat . ut hostili exercitui appropinquans sodalibus diceret. Erigite me in altum ut superuideam exercitum. Quod si ei contingeret circumspicere . continebat in⁴ aduersam partem pessime ire illo magicis quibusdam incantationibus preualente. Non quia efficaciam habeant huius artis maleficia nisi ex dei cuncta iuste disponentis prouidentia et ex merito hominis

¹ Sic.² i above line.³ Sic.⁴ written over erasure i.

end. 'Thou hast loved,' says Augustine, 'him who does well; thou hast lived in good odour, thou hast grudged him who does well, thou hast died because of his good odour.' Such an one was Lodebrok, a very wealthy and famous man, but deceitful and criminal, whose name when interpreted signifies Lothly brook, from whom as from a river emanated that spawn of hateful existence, I mean the three sons of Lodebrok, Hingwar, Ubba, and Wern. This family were seated in the northern gulf of Denmark, alongside of the Goths, and in accordance with long-standing practice carried on the ferocious business of piracy, giving themselves over entirely to brigandage and depredation, and bringing cruel ruin upon province after province. Their tribe, it should be noted, is one of great bodily stature and strength, and most formidable in warfare, descended from the Goths. They regard their name Danes as equivalent to Dagi, that is, as implying that they derive their origin from a Gothic stem. They were accustomed to place great confidence in the demoniacal arts of Ubba, and in the sorceries and loathsome magic in which he was versed. Indeed, he was altogether abandoned to the practice of iniquity, and a master of crafts and spells in the esteem of his followers. To such a degree had he gained assurance in his prosecution of these arts, that, when he approached the forces of an enemy, he would say to his comrades, 'Lift me up on high, that I may overlook the army.' If he could succeed in thus getting a view of his foes, it would result that fortune failed them, as he would prevail by means of his magical incantations. Of course, however, the malignant operations of this art could have no efficacy, except by the providence of God, who rightly disposes all things, and suffers men to be afflicted in accordance with their deserts.

pacientis miseria . Vnde scriptum est. Sathane uoluntas . semper iniqua potestas nunquam iniusta . habet enim a seipso uoluntatem . set a domino potestatem. Absit ergo ut homo ad ymaginem dei factus magicis obrui credatur artibus . pro uelle superbi spiritus qui nichil ualet nisi permissus. Vnde et potens illa legio demonum in porcos ire non potuit per semetipsum. Quadam igitur die dum fraudulentum filium¹ patri nequam assisterent . et deprobitate et insolentia sua superbe confabularetur pater eorum uipereis cogitationibus tumens² et elata dedignatione frendens ait pro nichilo inflati estis et in uentum uerba profertis. Quid enim dignum adepti estis memoria inter preliorum discrimina? Certe quidam iuuenis Ædmundus ante non multos hos annos a saxoniam descendit . anglicos ad sinus cum paucis apulit et regnum Estangle pro uelle disponit. Quid uos unquam simile peregistis? O qualis genitura mea in uobis? Illi itaque tam inuidia inflati quam paterna exprobratione uerecundati machinantes dolos in unum inierunt consilium aduersus Ædmundum. Cumque diu qua caliditate illum agredi possent molirentur . et infinitus³ consimilium ad hoc exercitus congregaretur omnes in hoc assensum prebuerunt . ut collectis uiribus ex inproviso in regnum eius irruerent . et cum rege populum

¹ Margin.² MS. *tinnens*.³ *Sic*.

For it is written, the will of Satan is always an unequal power, never an unjust one. His will, in fact, he derives from himself; but his power is from the Lord. Let it not then be supposed that man made in the image of God can be overwhelmed by the arts of magic at the will of the arrogant spirit, who is able to do nothing, except by sufferance. For instance, the mighty legion of devils could not of its own power enter into the swine.

And so it befell that one day while the deceitful brethren were assembled in mischievous conversation with their father, and were haughtily bragging of their own wickedness and presumption, the latter, in the swelling pride of his demoniacal designs, and chafing with disdainful elation, replied, 'Much reason you have to be so boastful, and to make the air ring with your proud words! What, I should like to know, have you ever achieved worth remembrance as the result of all your hard-fought battles? Why, there is a young man named Eadmund, who, not many years ago, embarked from Saxony, and landed in an English haven with a few followers, and now he has the realm of East Anglia under his absolute control! What have you ever accomplished like that? Oh! how inferior are you whom I have begotten!' The sons, therefore, being alike incensed with envy, and put to shame by their father's reproaches, entered upon a conspiracy of crafty machination against Eadmund. For a long while they plotted by what manœuvres they could attack him, and an army was collected in furtherance of their design; it was then unanimously determined, that with their united forces a sudden irruption should be made upon his kingdom, and that by fraud and stratagem king and people should be together destroyed. How they succeeded in per-

dolis et insidiis perimerent quod qualiter perpetratum ab eis fuerit et quo modo deo acceptus Ædmundus felicem uitam felici martirio consummauerit uir discretus abbo descripsit floriacensis . ad laudem domini saluatoris . cuius est Honor et gloria in secula seculorum amen.

petrating their designs, and how Eadmund, the accepted saint of God, consummated his blessed life by a blessed martyrdom, has been described by an eloquent man, Abbo of Fleury, to the praise of our Lord and Saviour, to whom are ascribed honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE

A.D. DCCC^oL^oV^o.—Eadem tempestate sanctissimus Edmundus, ex antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus, Orientalium Anglorum regnum suscepit.

A.D. DCCC^oLX^oVI^o.—Eodem anno magna paganorum classis de Danubia Britanniam advenit, et in Estengle hyemavit ibique exercitus ille magna ex parte equestris factus est.

A.D. DCCC^oLX^oVII^o.—Prædictus paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum Civitatem migravit.

A.D. DCCC^oLX^oVIII^o.—Burhed Merciorum rex pacem pepigit.

A.D. DCCC^oLXX^o.—Congregata sunt Danorum multa milia, quorum duces fuerunt Inguar et Hubba; qui ad Orientales Anglos venientes apud Teodford hyemaverunt. Ea tempestate rex Eadmundus super omnia regna Orientalium Anglorum regnabat, vir sanctus et justus per omnia, quique eodem anno contra præfatum exercitum atrociter et viriliter cum suis pugnavit. Sed, quia Dominus eum martyris coronandum præviderat, ibidem gloriose occubuit.

Mus. Brit. Arundel MSS. 69.—Hic Sanctus Edmundus unctus est in regem Orientalium Anglorum die Natalis Domini, in villa quæ dicitur Bures, ab Hymberto, episcopo de Elmham.

ROGER OF HOWDEN

Rolls Series. Ed. Stubbs.

A.D. 855.—About this time the most saintly Edmund, a scion of the line of the old Saxons succeeded to the kingdom of the East Angles.

A.D. 866.—In the course of this year a great fleet of the heathens came to Britain from Denmark, and wintered in East Anglia, and there the invaders were to a great extent mounted.

A.D. 867.—The above-mentioned host moved from East Anglia to the city of York.

A.D. 868.—Burhed, king of the Mercians, concluded a peace with them.

A.D. 870.—The Danes assembled by the thousand, under the leadership of Ingvar and Hubba. They came to East Anglia and wintered at Thetford. About this time King Edmund was reigning over all the kingdoms of the East Anglians. He was a thoroughly religious and righteous man. In that same year he and his forces fought with desperate and heroic valour against the host aforesaid. But it had pleased God to destine him for the crown of martyrdom, and so he died on the spot a glorious death.

From the MS. Arundel 69 in the British Museum.—Our Saint Edmund was anointed king over the East Anglians on Christmas Day, in the town called Bures, by Humbert, Bishop of Elmham.

Yngwar et Ubbe.—Beorn was þe pridde Lopebrokes sunes lepeperen Criste.

Ubba apud Ubbelawe in Eboracensi Colonia post multas cædes Christianorum, Deo volente, interfectus est. Beorn, postquam ecclesiam de Scapeie destruxisset, et sanctas virgines inibi violasset, justo Dei judicio, prope Rovecestriam, in villa qua dicitur Fren-des-beri, armatus et equo insidens, lanceam habens in manu erectam, ultione divina cum equo armis suis a terra vivus absorptus est, et usque nunc permanet fossa qua absorptus est, et in ævum permanebit, in regali et trita semita, xx prope pedum, et in ejus fundo semper durat aqua quasi cum cruore infecta.

Inguar and Hubba. Beorn was the third of Christ's enemies, the sons of Lothbroc.

Hubba was by God's will slain at Ubbaslawe in Yorkshire, after inflicting much slaughter on the Christians. Beorn destroyed the church of Sheppey, and outraged the nuns who dwelt there. Then God's just judgment overtook him. Near Rochester, in the town known as Frindsbury, whilst seated on his horse in complete armour, with spear erect in his hand, by divine vengeance, he was, with his horse and battle array, swallowed alive by the ground. And to this day there remains, and to the end of time will remain, in the much-frequented king's highway, the fissure, some twenty feet in space, in which he was engulfed, the water at the bottom of which is always tinged as with blood.

EX LIBRO SANCTE MARIE DE RUFFORDE

Brit. Mus. Cott. MS. Titus D. xxiv.

India, parthia, media, grecia, gallia, pontus,
Undique martirii tincta cruore rubent ;
Et quid multarum fecunda britannia rerum,
Insula dives opum, martiribusne vacat ?
Non vacat ! Albano protomartyre leta triumphat,
Felix Oswaldo martire rege suo ;
Doctor namque fide, rex lege, cruoreque martir,
Felix provexit, rexit, adornat eam.
Utque cruore suo gallos dionisius ornat,
Grecos demetrius, gloria quisque suis,
Sic nos Edmundus, nulli virtute secundus,
Lux, pater, et patrie gloria magna sue ;
Sceptra manum, diadema caput, sua purpura corpus
Ornat ei, sed plus vincula, mucro, cruor !

FROM A RUFFORD ABBEY MS. OF LATE
TWELFTH CENTURY ORIGIN

The writer is discussing the use of purple in the Church, especially
as a symbol of martyrdom.

India, Parthia, Media, Greece, Gaul, and Pontus,
Are red far and wide with the crimson dye of martyrdom ;
And what of Britain, fertile in so many ways ?
Has that rich and teeming isle no martyrs ?
Martyrs she has ! In Alban, her firstling, she exults and
triumphs,

She has joy in Oswald, the martyr, her king ;
As a teacher of the faith, by his laws as king, by his blood as
martyr,

It was his joy to advance and to rule her, and still he
adorns her.

And even as Denys with his blood adorns the Gauls,
And Demetrius the Greeks, each the glory of his own
people,

So Edmund adorns our race, a hero second to none,
His country's light, and father, and great glory ;
Whose hand the sceptre, whose head the diadem, whose body
the purple

Decorates ; but how much more the chain, the sword, the
ruby stain !

ROGERI DE WENDOVER. FLORES HISTORIARUM

Ed. H. O. Coxe, 1841.

BODL. DOUCE MSS. 207.

A.D. 855. Rex Eadmundus, ex prosapia antiquorum Saxonum originem ducens, provinciæ Orientalium Anglorum culmen regiminis suscepit, anno a nativitate sua tertio decimo, die Dominicæ nativitatis, octavo Kalendas Januarii. Iste adolescens piissimus ab omnibus regionis illius magnatibus et populis rex electus, et ad regimen, multum renitens, compulsus, ab Humberto, Helmhamensi episcopo, in villa regia, quæ Bures nuncupatur, munus consecrationis suscepit.

A.D. 866. Magna Danorum Classis in Angliam veniens, in regione Orientalium Anglorum hyemavit, ubi et maxima pars eorum, qui pedites erant, equestres effecti sunt.

A.D. 867. Danorum nefandus exercitus, in die Omnium Sanctorum, ab Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracensem Civitatem migravit.

A.D. 870. Applicuerunt in Scotia Danorum innumera multitudo, quorum duces fuerunt Ynguar et Hubba diræ perverſitatis homines, et fortitudinis inauditæ . . . His ita gestis velificaverunt infideles nequissimi per maris littus sursum,

ROGERI DE WENDOVER. FLORES HISTORIARUM

Ed. H. O. Coxe, 1841.

BODL. DOUCE MSS. 207.

A.D. 855. King Eadmund, who traced his descent from the stem of the old Saxons, assumed sovereignty over the province of the East Anglians in the thirteenth year from his birth, on Christmas Day, December 25. This deeply religious young man was chosen as king by all the nobles and people of that region, and, much against his will, was forcibly raised to the throne. At the hands of Humbert, the bishop of Elmham, in the royal township known by the name of Bures, he underwent the rite of consecration.

A.D. 866. A great Danish fleet came to England, and settled for the winter in the country of the East Anglians, where the bulk of them, who were till then unmounted, were converted into cavalry.

A.D. 867. The impious army of the Danes moved on All Saints' Day from East Anglia to the city of York.

A.D. 870. A countless multitude of the Danes put to shore in Scotland, under the leadership of Ynguar and Hubba, men of inhuman depravity, and unparalleled audacity. . . . After these events, the abandoned miscreants sailed onwards along the sea-coast, laying waste with fire and sword every place to

quæque sibi obvia igne depopulantes et ferro . . . deinde sursum per flumen Humbri navigantes, consimili ibidem rabie sæviebant, indeque progressi cuncta cænobia in paludibus sita monachorum ac virginum, interfectis habitantibus, destruxerunt. Horum autem nomina cænobiorum sunt, Croulandia, Thorneia, Ramseseia, Hamstede, quod nunc 'Burgum sancti Petri' dicitur, cum insula Eliensi, et cænobio olim famosissimo fæminarum, in quo sancta virgo et regina Etheldreda abbatissæ officium multis annis laudabiliter adimplevit.

DE CAUSA MARTYRII SANCTI EADMUNDI.

Nunc ergo quoniam in persecutione ista gloriosus rex et martyr Eadmundus gladiis iniquorum Hinguar et Hubbæ fratrum interfectus occubuit, dignum est hoc in loco referre tanti causam martyrii, et unde duces prædicti occasionem nacti fuerunt regem piissimum nece adeo crudelissima condemnare. Erat igitur in diebus non longe præteritis in regno Danorum vir quidam de stirpe regia illius gentis progenitus nomine Lothbrocus; hic, cum duos filios, Hinguar scilicet et Hubbam, ex uxore genuisset, quadam die cum accipitre solus brevem naviculam ingressus, ut in insulis maris et terræ vicinis anates et aviculas alias aucuparetur, subita tempestate suborta, intra maris latitudinem raptus, diebus aliquot cum noctibus huc illucque dejectus graviter vexabatur; qui tandem plurima maris pericula perpessus in Angliam projectus est, et in provincia Orientalium

which they^{*} came. . . . Still they proceeded on their voyage up the river Humber, raging with unsated fury, and, when they left that district, it was to destroy the whole of the religious houses, whether of monks or nuns, after the slaughter of the inmates. The names of these houses are as follows—Croyland, Thorney, Ramsey, Hamsted, which is now called Peterborough, to which must be added the Isle of Ely, with its once renowned convent, in which the holy virgin and queen Etheldreda for many years honourably discharged the duties of abbess.

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT EADMUND.

At this point, since it was in the persecution to which I have referred that the glorious king and martyr Eadmund fell a victim to the swords of the wicked brothers Hinguar and Hubba, it is appropriate that I should relate the causes which led to the martyrdom of that famous prince, and whence the chiefs above mentioned drew a pretext for condemning to so cruel a death the most religious king. It seems that there was not long ago in the Danish kingdom a member of the royal family of that people by name Lothbroc, who had by his wife two sons, namely Hinguar and Hubba. One day Lothbroc, hawk on hand, embarked alone in a little boat, with the intention of hunting duck and other small fowl among the islands which fringe the sea-coast. A storm suddenly arose and Lothbroc was driven out to sea. For several days and nights he was tossed hither and thither, and exposed to much suffering, but at length, after undergoing unnumbered perils at sea, he was cast on the shores of England, and landed in that

Anglorum, quæ Nortfolc ab incolis dicitur, apud Redham villam applicuit; qui forte ab hominibus regionis cum accipitre solus inventus, regi Est-anglorum Eadmundo pro miraculo præsentatur, et ab ipso rege, propter elegantissimam corporis formam, cum honore receptus, aliquandiu in curia ejus remansit, et quoniam lingua Danorum Anglicanæ loquelæ vicina est, Lothbrocus regi narrare cæpit quo casu in Angliam fuisset projectus. Placuerunt itaque Lothbroco in rege Eadmundo morum plenitudo et militiæ disciplina quam plurimum, simul et curialitas adstantium ministrorum, quos regalis industria in omni rerum ornatu et schemate verborum pleniter informavit. Ad hanc quoque Lothbrocus morum disciplinam provocatus rogabat regem propensius, ut sibi liceret in ejus curia demorari, ut regiis posset plenius instrui disciplinis; cumque rex Eadmundus petitionem ejus clementer exaudisset, junxit se Lothbrocus venatori regis nomine Berno, ut artem venatoriam, in qua fuerat eruditus ad plenum, cum ipso frequentaret; erat enim tam in aucupatione quam in venatorio exercitio graciosus, unde in avibus simul bestiis capiendis pro voto ei omnia succedebant; capiebat quicquid volebat et mensam regis delicatissimis ferculis persæpe ditabat. Et cum fuisset a rege, prout ejus gentilitas permisit, dilectus, cœpit venator regis ei graviter invidere, pro eo quod in artibus prædictis ipsum in omnibus superabat, et mortali invidia contra Lothbrocum succensus, quadam die dum venatum pariter

part of the East Anglian province which is called Norfolk by the inhabitants, at a village known as Reedham. By good luck he was found by the country-folk, unattended except by his hawk, and was conducted as a living miracle to Eadmund, the king of East Anglians, by whom in person he was honourably received, as being of very distinguished appearance. He remained for some time at Eadmund's Court, and as the Danish language has close affinity with English, entered upon a description of the accident which led to his drifting to England. Lothbroc was highly pleased by King Eadmund's accomplished manners, and his knowledge of military science, as well as by the courtesy of the ministers in attendance, who had been amply trained under the king's own supervision in all decorum of conduct and in all propriety of address. The correctness of their demeanour so stimulated the Dane that he eagerly besought the king to permit him to make a further stay, with the view of studying more closely the organisation of a Court. This request was civilly granted by King Eadmund, and Lothbroc attached himself to the king's huntsman, whose name was Bern, in order to practise the sports of the chase, in which he had already been fully instructed, for he was an adept in fowling as well as in hunting. Accordingly he met with all the success that he could wish in his pursuit whether of fowls or quadrupeds. Whatever he had a mind to capture, he captured, and very often enriched the royal table with dishes of the greatest delicacy. The king, too, treated him with as much affection as his heathen condition allowed, and the royal huntsman began to regard him with acute jealousy, on account of the stranger's superiority in all branches of the chase. Inflamed, therefore, against Lothbroc

irent, furtivo impetu in eum facto, ipsum nequiter interfecit et in densitate nemoris interfectum abscondit; quo facto, recessit venator nequissimus et canes cornicando ad se vocavit. Nutrierat autem Lothbrocus leporarium quendam in curia regis Eadmundi, qui ipsum, ut fieri solet, multum dilexit, et, venatore cum cæteris canibus recedente, ille solus cum corpore domini sui remansit. In crastino quoque cum rex sederet ad mensam et inter cæteros commilitones Lothbrocum non vidisset, quæsiuit propensius a ministris, quid de illo actum fuisset; cui respondens venator Bernus dixit, quod die hesternæ, cum de venatu domum rediret, ipse remansit in silva post eum et, quod eum postea non viderit, profitetur; sed vix verba compleverat, et ecce leporarius, quem nutriverat Lothbrocus, regiam [domum] ingressus omnibus et maxime regi adulante cauda applaudere satagebat; quem rex cum vidisset, adstantibus dixit, 'Ecce,' inquit, 'canis Lothbroci adveniens dominum venientem prævenit'; et præ gaudio rex canem diligenter pavit sperans per eum ejus dominum adventurum, sed secus contigit quam sperabat; nam illico, cum leporarius satiatus fuisset, reversus est ad dominum suum et juxta corpus ejus consuetas excubias celebravit. Qui iterum, post triduum, fame illum compellente, ad mensam regis ingressus denuo reficiendus, rex vehementer admirans jussit insequi vestigia canis si recederet ab aula, et diligenter quo pergeret explorare. Factum est a ministris ut eis a rege fuerat

with deadly envy, the huntsman, one day while they were out hunting together, suddenly assailed him, and wickedly did him to death; after which he hid the corpse in the thickest part of the wood. Then the villain made off, and, with a blast from his horn, called off the hounds. Now it happened that Lothbroc had taken charge of a greyhound in the Court of King Eadmund, and the animal, being, as commonly occurs, devotedly attached to his master, remained alone with his body, when the huntsman went home with the other hounds.

Next day, when the king was seated at table, and missed Lothbroc from his place among the other thanes, he asked his attendants, with some concern, what had happened to him. Bern the huntsman said in reply, that the day before, when he came home from the hunt, Lothbroc stayed behind in the wood. Bern alleged also that he had seen no more of him. But he had scarcely answered, when lo! the greyhound, which Lothbroc had taken charge of, came into the palace, and, wagging his tail, fawned upon the guests, and above all on the king, who, noticing the circumstance, exclaimed to the bystanders, 'Look, Lothbroc's dog in coming here is only anticipating his master's arrival,' and in high glee gave the animal a good meal, fully expecting that the owner would soon follow. But his expectations were deceived, for the moment that appetite was satisfied, the greyhound went back to his master, and resumed his watch by the body. Three days later, under compulsion of hunger, the hound again came into the royal dining-room for fresh sustenance. At this the king was greatly astonished, and gave orders that the hound should be tracked by his footsteps, on leaving the hall, and his destination diligently ascertained. The attendants carried out the king's commands, and were

imperatum, et canem recedentem subsequentes ad Lothbroci corpus exanime sunt perducti. Cum ergo hæc regi declarata fuissent, perturbatus est vehementer et jussit ut corpus sepulturæ honestius traderetur.

UT, DEPOPULATA EST-ANGLIA, STRAGES HOMINUM SIT SECUTA.

Tunc rex Eadmundus, diligenti de morte Lothbroci facta inquisitione, Bernum venatorem de opere nefando convicit, et jussit a militibus de curia sua adjudicari ac legis peritis, quid de homicida foret agendum; ac omnes in hoc pariter consenserunt, ut venator in illa navicula, in qua sæpe-dictus Lothbrocus in Angliam applicuit, poneretur, et in medio maris solus sine omni instrumento navali dimissus probetur, si illum Deus velit a periculo liberare. Itaque venator, juxta quod sententiatum fuerat, in profunditatem maris dimissus, post dies paucos in Daniam est projectus, qui cum a portuum custodibus inventus fuisset, cognoverunt naviculam Dani, quod in illa dominus illorum Lothbrocus consueverat aucupari, et perduxerunt eum ad Hinguar et Hubbam, filios Dani in Anglia interfecti, viros potentes et crudeles, qui continuo adhibitis tortoribus exegerunt a Berno, quid de patre suo, qui in illa navicula ab eis fuerat subtractus, actum fuisset. Bernus quoque graviter et diu diversis afflictus tormentis, fingens mendacium, dixit, quod pater eorum, cum casu applicuisset in Angliam, a rege Est-anglorum Eadmundo inventus, ipso jubente fuerat interfectus;

guided by following the course taken by the hound to the lifeless body of Lothbroc. On this being made known to Eadmund, he was exceedingly troubled, and gave orders that the body should be buried with becoming honours.

HOW EAST ANGLIA WAS LAID WASTE, AND ITS INHABITANTS
WERE MASSACRED.

Then King Eadmund, after holding a searching inquiry into the facts of Lothbroc's death, realised the atrocious guilt of Bern the huntsman, and bade the knights of his Court and his legal experts decide what should be done with the murderer. It was unanimously determined that the huntsman should be placed in the boat in which Lothbroc, so often mentioned, had landed on English shores, and that Bern should be cast adrift, alone, and without any nautical implements, into the open sea, that it might be seen whether God was willing to extricate him from his peril. Accordingly the huntsman, in compliance with the sentence, was turned adrift in deep water, but after a few days he was cast on shore in Denmark. There he was found by the harbour guards, and the Danes recognised the boat as being that which their sovereign Lothbroc had used for fowling. Bern was then brought into the presence of Hinguar and Hubba, sons of the Dane who had been murdered in England. These powerful and ferocious chiefs at once summoned their executioners, and demanded of Bern what had become of their father who had disappeared from his family in that boat. Bern, under stress of various tortures, long and severely applied, had recourse to falsehood, and averred that their father, having been discovered by Eadmund, king of the East Angles, on accidentally

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at illi prorumpentes in fletum amarissimum, de morte patris sui inconsolabiliter perturbati, juraverunt per omnipotentes deos suos, quod mortem illam non relinquerent impunitam; Bernum quoque venatorem, qui in navicula patris sui advenerat, constituerunt ducem suum, ut se in Eadmundum vindicarent. Ac deinde, congregato exercitu copioso, cum viginti millibus armatorum mare ingressi versus regionem orientalium Anglorum vela direxerunt et arma, ut se in regem Eadmundum de morte illa penitus insontem ultum irent; veruntamen ventis in contrarium classem impellentibus, in Scotia apud Beruic super Tuedam compulsi sunt applicare, ubi præscriptam depopulationem inchoantes, sæviendo ubique, tandem ad Est-Angliam pervenerunt, et apud villam, quæ Redford¹ dicitur, castra metati quoscumque invenerunt ibi viros ac mulieres in ore gladii peremerunt. Denique cum ibidem tyrannus Hinguar nequissimus ex multitudine interfectorum suam aliquantulum rabiem exsaturasset, quosdam plebeios advocat, quos gladio suo judicabat indignos, atque ubi rex eorum tunc temporis vitam duceret, sollicitus investigat; fama namque ad eum pervenerat, quod piissimus rex Eadmundus viribus et armis esset strenuus ac in omni corporis dimensione simul et proceritate incomparabilis; quocirca festinabat quos circumquaque reperit neci tradere, ne multo stipatus militum agmine ad patriæ defensionem sufficere potuisset. Morabatur autem eo tempore gloriosus rex et futurus

¹ So in the MS., no doubt for Thetford.

landing in England, was murdered by Eadmund's personal command. Then the sons burst into tears of bitter grief, and could not be consoled in their lamentations for their father's death. They swore by their almighty gods that they would not leave his death unpunished. Bern the huntsman, who had arrived in their father's boat, was appointed their guide in the expedition of revenge against Eadmund. They then assembled a numerous army, and with twenty thousand warriors embarked and set sail for the country of the East Angles, against which they directed their forces with the intention of making Eadmund the king answerable for the murder, though he was entirely innocent of it. But their fleet was driven by the winds out of its course, and they were constrained to put to shore in Scotland near Berwick upon Tweed. There they inaugurated their career of destruction, and not till they had expended their rage in every direction did they at length arrive in East Anglia. At a town known by the name of Redford (Thetford) they pitched their camp, and put to the sword all whom they found there, women as well as men. Finally, when the abandoned tyrant Hinguar had in some degree appeased his fury by the slaughter of multitudes in that district, he summoned some wretched folk, whom he thought not worth the trouble of killing, and busily inquired where their king was at that moment residing. A report had reached his ears that the most religious King Eadmund was a valiant and doughty soldier, and of incomparable bodily physique and stature. It was for this reason that Hinguar was so keen to massacre all whom he found in the neighbourhood; otherwise, he was afraid that Eadmund would command a force sufficient to repel the invaders of his country. Now, at this time the glorious king and martyr happened to be

martyr Eadmundus in villa regia quæ Hæilesdune dicebatur, a qua et silva, quæ vicina est, eodem nomine appellatur, ut a vulgo acceperat prædo nequissimus; unde accito ad se dolose de commilitonibus uno, eum direxit ad regem mandans, ut cum eo thesauros dividat et paternas divitias, sub ipso regnaturus; sed nimis fraudulenter Hinguar thesauros exigebat, qui clementissimi regis caput potius quam pecunias sitiabat. Miles igitur, cum volatu citissimo ad regem Eadmundum pervenisset, in hunc modum ora laxavit:

DE NUNTIO HINGUAR AD REGEM EADMUNDUM MISSO.

‘Dominus meus ubique metuendus Hinguar, rex Danorum invictissimus, ad hanc patriam hyematurus advenit; cujus potentiæ si aspernator exstiteris, et vita indignus et regno judicaberis.’ Et sic omnia, quæ sibi imposita fuerant, ut prædiximus, cum regi per ordinem retulisset, piissimus rex Eadmundus alto cordis dolore ingemuit, et advocato Humberto, Helmhamensi episcopo, consilium quæsivit ab ipso dicens, ‘O serve Dei vivi, Humberte, et dimidium animæ meæ, ecce adventus barbarorum imminet inimicorum, qui dulcem patriam, cum suis habitatoribus jam pro parte desolatam, quod residuum est a nostrorum memoria successorum funditus delere conantur; sed ecce, me occumbente, utinam subjectus mihi

staying at a royal town called Haeileedune, by which name the adjoining forest is also known; and this the infamous brigand learned from the common people. He therefore craftily summoned and despatched to the king one of his soldiery, and demanded that Eadmund should surrender part of his treasure, and of his hereditary wealth, and reign in subordination to himself. But there was an excess of imposture in Hinguar's attempt to extort treasure, seeing that it was the gentle king's head, rather than his money, for which he was athirst. Well! the soldier made his way with all possible speed to King Eadmund, and delivered himself of his message to the following effect:—

OF THE ENVOY SENT BY HINGUAR TO KING EADMUND.

'My Lord Hinguar, the universally redoubtable, the indomitable king of the Danes, has come to stay the winter in this country. If you should be found contumacious to his power, you will be deemed unworthy to reign or live.' In this strain he repeated to the king the whole message, item by item, which he had been ordered, as I have said, to deliver. Then the holy King Eadmund groaned in the deep anguish of his spirit, and summoned Humbert, the bishop of Elmham, to advise him in council. To the bishop he said: 'Oh! Humbert! servant of the living God, and my most intimate friend, you see that the approach of my barbarous enemies is imminent. They have already to a great extent desolated my beloved country, and destroyed its inhabitants, and are now striving to bring to ruin and sink in utter oblivion the remainder of the land. See! I would gladly have died that my subjects might have escaped

populus vivus evadere potuisset; nam ego pro amore regni temporalis, vel lucro vitæ præsentis, non me subijciam tyranno gentili, cum pro gente moriens et patria miles possem fieri signifer Regis æterni.'

Cui antistes, 'Quos rex,' inquit, 'mihi dilectissime, optas patriæ superstites habere? nisi fugæ præsidio præcaveritis, aderunt confestim proditores nefandi, qui te cum tibi subjectis auferre de medio conabuntur.' At rex clementissimus, 'Hoc est,' inquit, 'quod votis omnibus antepono, ne supersim meis fidelibus et carissimis amicis, quos furtive pirata perdidit truculentus; et quidem suggeris, ut gloriæ nostræ crimen inferam, qui nunquam militiæ probra hucusque sustinui. Est quoque mihi super hoc arbiter Rex cælestis, quod nullus barbarorum metus a caritate Christi sive vivum, sive mortuum, separabit.' Tunc conversus ad nuntium beatissimus rex Eadmundus, qui ab Hinguar impiissimo fuerat destinatus, 'Madefactus,' inquit, 'cruore meorum mortis supplicio dignus existeres; sed Christi mei exemplum imitatus, si ita contigerit, pro ipso libenter mori minime pertimesco; rediens vero ad dominum tuum festinus, mea illi responsa perferto. Thesauros quoque nostros, quos nobis contulit divina providentia, sive divitias, si potenter surripias, me tamen tuæ infidelitati non subicies; honestum est enim perpetuam defendere libertatem simul fideique puritatem, pro quibus etiam, si necesse est, occumbere non inutile reputamus. Igitur, ut cepit tua superba

with their lives. Certainly I have no such love of earthly rule, or of the advantages of this life, that I could submit to a pagan tyrant, when, by dying for my people and country, I could become a soldier, and bear the standard, of the Eternal King.'

The bishop answered : 'My beloved sovereign, how can you hope for the survival of any of your people, unless you seek safety in flight? The impious villains will be here directly, and will make short work of both you and your subjects.' But the gentle king replied : 'The thing which I desire above all others is that I may not survive my faithful subjects and dear friends, whom these ferocious bandits have treacherously slain ; and you are suggesting that I, who have never till now incurred any military disgrace, should sully my glory. In this the heavenly King is my witness that no dread of the barbarians shall separate me alive or dead from the love of Christ.' Then the blessed King Eadmund turned to the envoy who had been despatched by the miscreant Hinguar, and said : 'Reeking, as you are, with the blood of my subjects, you deserve the penalty of death, but in imitation of the example of my master Christ, if the occasion requires, I shall willingly and without the slightest fear die for Him ; so return at once to your master, and take my answer to him thus : "As for the treasures which have been conferred upon me by God's providence, and as for my wealth, you may strip me of these by force, but you shall not impose your infidelity upon me ; for it is with me a point of honour to defend my freedom, and the purity of my faith, to the last ; and for them, if need be, I deem it worth while to die. Therefore, go on as in your arrogant savagery you have begun, murder the king as you have massacred his subjects. The King of kings will

feritas, post famulos regem jugula, quoniam hæc videns Rex regum me in cœlum transferet æternaliter regnaturum.'

DE PRÆLIO INTER REGEM EADMUNDUM ET HINGUAR
COMMISSO.

Recedente itaque nuntio truculento, rex Eadmundus jussit commilitones ad arma convolare, asserens, dignum pro fide pariter pugnare et patria, ne desertores militiæ se esse et depopulatores probarentur. Igitur ad instantiam Humberti Episcopi, ac nobilium virorum et commilitonum suorum, animatus beatissimus rex Eadmundus, cum toto exercitu quem habere potuit, audacter processit in hostes, et non longe ab urbe, quæ Redford¹ appellatur, contra adversarios sibi obviam venientes grave certamen ac nimis utrobique damnosum commisit. Nempe cum a mane diei usque ad vesperam mutua se nece prostravissent, et pro nimia interfectorum multitudine ac sanguine loca certaminis rubuissent, piissimus rex Eadmundus, non solum ex strage commilitonum suorum pro patria, gente, et fide Jesu Christi decertantium, quos jam martyrio coronatos agnovit, condolebat, verum etiam pro nece barbarorum infidelium ad inferni barathrum detrusorum nimis amare lugebat. Recedentibus itaque primitus de loco funeris paganis, beatissimus confessor Christi, rex Eadmundus, cum reliquiis commilitonum suorum, qui superstites erant, ad Haeilesdune villam regiam profectus, immutabiliter statuit in animo suo, se nunquam de cætero contra barbaros pugnaturum; sed hoc solum-

¹ So in the MS. But Thetford, no doubt, is meant, as before.

behold this, and will exalt me to heaven, there to reign for ever."

HOW BATTLE WAS JOINED BETWEEN KING EADMUND
AND HINGUAR.

The blood-thirsty envoy then retired, and King Eadmund bade his soldiers fly to arms. He urged that it was but seemly to fight at once for faith and country; otherwise, they would be accounted as deserters before the enemy, and as guilty of their country's ruin. Accordingly, encouraged by the persuasion of Bishop Humbert, and of the nobles, and of his soldiery, the blessed King Eadmund, with all the forces at his command, boldly attacked the enemy, and at no great distance from the city known as Redford (Thetford) fought a critical battle against the opposing forces, with heavy loss on either side. From the dawn of day till dusk the reciprocal slaughter continued, till the stricken field was red with the blood of the countless numbers who perished. Then King Eadmund was overwhelmed with compassion and sorrow, not only for the carnage among his own followers, who were fighting for their country and race, and for the faith of Jesus Christ, and who had, as he knew, won the crown of martyrdom, but also for the death of the heathen savages, sent down, as he bitterly lamented, to the pit of hell. When, therefore, the heathen had first retired from the blood-stained field, the blessed confessor of Christ, King Eadmund, with the surviving remnant of his own troops, marched to the royal township of Haeilesdune, with the resolution immutably fixed in his mind never again to fight against the barbarians, as there was but one thing needful in his

modo dixit, sibi fore necessarium, ut 'solus moriretur pro populo et non tota gens periret.'

DE PASSIONE BEATI EADMUNDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS.

Hinguar igitur, cum de strage suis illata inconsolabiliter anxiaretur, venit ad eum apud Thedford Hubba frater ejus, qui jam Merciam totam depopulaverat, cum decem millibus armatorum, et sic junctis viribus, ut se vindicarent in sanctum regem Eadmundum, castra moventes ad Haeilesdune villam, ubi rex beatissimus Eadmundus tunc erat, celeriter pervenerunt. Tunc tyrannus Hinguar jussit circumcingi regem cum turba, ne quidem ex omnibus elaberetur vivus. Sanctissimus itaque rex Eadmundus, cum se ab hostibus undique vallatum cognosceret, de consilio Humberti, Helmhamensis episcopi, confugit ad ecclesiam, ut se membrum Christi ostenderet, et, armis temporalibus projectis, cœlestia induit, humiliter Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu deprecans, ut sibi in passione constantiam largirentur. Igitur a ministris iniquitatis clementissimus rex Eadmundus ab ecclesia truculenter loris dirissimis coarctatur, et sicut Christus ante Pilatum præsidem, ita ducitur Eadmundus ante iniquum ducem; quo jubente, ad arborem quandam, quæ non multum aberat, religatus diutissime flagellatur, multisque modis illuditur. Sed

judgment, viz. that 'one should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish.'

OF THE PASSION OF THE BLESSED EADMUND, KING AND
MARTYR.

Hinguar, on the other hand, was in a state of inconsolable affliction for the losses his countrymen had incurred, when he was joined at Thetford by his brother Hubba, fresh from the devastation of the whole of Mercia, at the head of ten thousand men. They combined their forces with the object of taking their revenge on the saintly King Eadmund; and striking their tents, made a rapid march to the town of Haeilesdune, where the blessed King Eadmund was temporarily resting. Then the tyrant Hinguar gave orders that the king should be hemmed in by a crowd of soldiers, and that none should be allowed to escape alive. When the holy King Eadmund realised that he was completely surrounded by his enemies, acting upon the suggestion of Humbert, the bishop of Elmham, he retired to the church, thus to proclaim his membership with Christ, and, throwing away his material armour, put on that which is of heaven, with a humble prayer to the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit, that constancy might be vouchsafed to him in the hour of his passion. And so the gentle King Eadmund was dragged by the agents of iniquity from the church and savagely bound with hard thongs. Then, even as Christ was brought before the tribunal of Pilate, so Eadmund was haled into the presence of the unjust chieftain, by whose orders he was strapped to a tree which stood hard by, and was for a long time scourged, and made the victim of various outrages. Un-

invictus athleta Christi Eadmundus, inter flagella Christum semper invocando, tortores suos compulit in furorem, et ad ipsum tunc arcubus, quasi ad signum, ludendo, totum corpus ejus telis confodiunt et sagittis; nec erat locus in corpore martyris vacuus, quo novum posset imprimi vulnus, nam sicut hericius in cute densis armatur spinis, ita corpus invicti regis spiculis configitur et sagittis. Cumque nec sic Hinguar carnifex truculentus sanctum martyrem Eadmundum a fide Christi et confessione Trinitatis potuit separare, ut suis iniquis persuasionibus præberet assensum, protinus lictori mandat, ut ense cruento martyris caput præcidat; at lictor sanctum de stipite truculenter avulsum, inter verba orationis et confessione Christi nominis, unico ictu ipsum decapitando duodecimo kalendas Decembris gratissimum Deo holocaustum, et in igne passionis examinatum cum palma victoriæ et corona justitiæ transmisit ad cælum. Corpus vero martyris ministri diaboli capite truncatum relinquentes, et in silvam, cui Haeilesdune nomen est, adportantes, inter densa veprium fruteta projecerunt; adhuc enim laborabant lanistæ iniqui, ne a Christianis, quos paucos superstites reliquerant, corpus martyris sepulturæ, ut decebat, cum capite traderetur. Didicerant namque Hinguar et Hubba, piratæ nequissimi, in silva jam dicta olim de medio sublatum fuisse Lothbrocum patrem suum; unde falsa suggestionem Berni

daunted, however, Eadmund, as a champion of Christ, continued between the lashes to invoke his Saviour. This goaded his tormentors to fury. They then made him as it were a target for their archery, and riddled his whole body with darts and arrows; so that there was not left a vacant spot in the martyr's frame, where a fresh wound could be inflicted. The body of the dauntless king bristled with javelins and arrows like a hedgehog, whose skin is armed with a forest of quills. When Hinguar, therefore, the blood-thirsty butcher, saw that he was impotent to separate the holy martyr Eadmund from the faith of Christ and the profession of the Trinity, or to compel his assent to his own abominable tenets, he finally commanded his executioner to strike off the martyr's head with his blood-stained sword. So the Saint was cruelly wrenched away from the tree-stem, and while still uttering words of prayer, and still invoking the name of Christ, was beheaded by the executioner with one stroke of the sword, on the 20th November, as an offering of sweetest savour to God. Thus, after trial in the fire of agony, he passed with the palm of triumph and the crown of righteousness to heaven. The martyr's body was left, severed from its head, by the instruments of the devil; the head they carried into the wood called Haeilesdune, and flung amid the dense thickets of brambles. It was the object of these wicked savages to prevent the few Christians whom they had left alive from burying the body and head together with becoming solemnity. Hinguar and Hubba, those infamous brigands, had, moreover, been informed that it was in this very wood that Lothbroc, their father, had, years before, been murdered. It was this fact which, at the lying suggestions of Bern the hunter, inspired them with the desire of taking

venatoris, beati regis et martyris Eadmundi talionem reddere cupientes, in silva eadem caput ejus ignominiose projecerunt, avibusque cæli tradentes et bestiis devorandum. Passus est autem cum sanctissimo rege Eadmundo comes ejus individuus Humbertus, Helmhamensis antistes, qui regem eundem in regni fastigium sublimaverat, et constantia invicti regis ad martyrium animatus, cum ipso est regni cælestis possessor effectus. Sicque rege beatissimo ad cælestia translato, pagani nimium gloriantes hyemaverunt in regione illa, expulsis paucis indigenis, qui superstites cladi prædictæ fuerunt. Eodem anno Ceolnothus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus diem clausit extremum, cui successit Ethelredus, vir venerandus et in rebus divinis sufficienter eruditus.

DE INVENTIONE CAPITIS SANCTI EADMUNDI.

Cum igitur post martyrium beatissimi regis Eadmundi, fratres Hinguar et Hubba, Deo odibiles, hyemale tempus in regione Est-Anglorum, prædis vacantes et rapinis, jam pro parte expleverant, venit ibidem ad eos Gytro quidam de regibus Danorum potentissimus, ut cum prædictis fratribus hyemaret. Superveniente itaque tempore vernali, omnes pagani ab Est-Anglia pariter recesserunt; quo audito, Christiani undecunque de latibulis erumpentes summopere satagebant, ut caput beati regis Eadmundi inventum reliquo corpori uniretur, et sepulturæ

vengeance on the blessed king and martyr Eadmund, and so it was into this same wood that they contemptuously flung his head, and left it to be devoured by the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. It remains to be said that, together with the saintly king, Eadmund, his inseparable companion Humbert, the bishop of Elmham, who had raised the king to the regal throne of his kingdom, and was now encouraged by the constancy of the unconquerable king to undergo martyrdom, suffered death and entered into possession of the kingdom of heaven. When the blessed king had thus been translated to heaven, the heathen in excess of triumph wintered in that country, after driving out the remnant of the natives who survived the massacre which has been related. In that same year, Ceolnoth, the archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life, and was succeeded by Ethelred, a venerable man, and adequately versed in the study of divinity.

HOW THE HEAD OF SAINT EADMUND WAS DISCOVERED.

After the martyrdom of the blessed King Eadmund, the brothers Hinguar and Hubba, hateful in the sight of God, remained for a great part of the winter in the borders of East Anglia, absorbed in pillage and rapine, until they were joined by a certain Guthrum, a king of the highest authority among the Danes, who purposed to spend the rest of the winter with the brothers. But on the return of the spring season, the whole multitude of the heathen with one accord quitted East Anglia. On learning this the Christians, emerging from their several hiding-places, busily concerned themselves in searches for the head of the blessed King Eadmund with the object of

corpus integrum more regio traderetur. Cumque omnes pari affectu ad id occurrerunt, et silvas perlustrando caput martyris diligenter quærent, res contigit dictu mirabilis et seculis inaudita, nam cum caput quærendo inter silvas et veprium densitates, socii ad socios mutuis clamoribus patria lingua [*'Ubi es? ubi es?'*] interrogarent, caput martyris eadem lingua] respondens dixit, *'Her, her, her,'* quod Latine dicitur, *'Hic, hic, hic,'*; nec cessavit eadem repetendo clamare quousque singulos ad se perduxit; ubi cum capite lupus, ingens et visu horribilis, repertus est, qui caput sacrum inter brachia complectens beato martyri excubias impendebat. Adsumentes itaque homines caput intrepidi profusis Deo laudibus, ad suum corpus detulerunt, subsequente lupo illos usque ad locum sepulturæ; tunc caput corpori conjungentes in mausoleo competenti illa pariter concluserunt, quo facto, lupus, dilectæ solitudinis secreta petivit. Constructa est autem in eodem loco, pauperrimo opere, a fidelibus ecclesiola, ubi postea, per multa annorum curricula corpus sanctissimum requievit. Passus est autem verissimus rex et martyr Eadmundus anno Domini octingentesimo septuagesimo, anno ætatis suæ vicesimo nono regni sui vero anno decimo sexto, die duodecimo Decembris, in indictione tertia, luna existente vicesima secunda.

uniting it to the corpse, and burying the entire remains with the honour due to a king. Animated by these feelings all met together on this errand, and industriously hunted for the head of the martyr as they explored the woods. Then a prodigy occurred, only to be related with wonder, and such as was never before heard of. As the party in search of the head advanced through the forest and the dense thickets of brambles, and one shouted to another in the speech of the country, 'Where are you? Where are you?' the head called out in reply, 'Here! Here! Here!' (this is expressed in Latin by 'Hic, Hic, Hic'), and never ceased to utter the same answer till it drew them all, one by one, to itself, when a huge wolf of terrific appearance was discovered with the head—the sacred head—which it embraced with its fore-legs as it kept watch and ward over the blessed martyr. Without alarm the searchers took possession of the head, and with unstinted praises to God, bore it away to the body which belonged to it, while the wolf followed them to the place of entombment. Then they joined body and head together, and enclosed them both in a befitting sepulchre; after which the wolf retraced its steps to its wonted and secret solitude. At the place of interment there was erected by the faithful a small church of very humble workmanship, and there for many years subsequently the holy body reposed. Now Eadmund, who was in very deed both king and martyr, suffered death in the year of our Lord 870, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign, on the 20th November, in the third indiction, in the twenty-second lunar period.

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UT CORPUS SANCTI EADMUNDI INVENTUM FUERIT
INCORRUPTUM.

Elapso deinde multorum intervallo annorum, sedatis penitus bellorum incendiis cœpit fidelium pietas respirare, qui in loco ubi corpus martyris requievit, Hoxen nunc ab incolis nuncupato, visis creberrimis miraculorum signis, in villa regia, quæ lingua Anglorum 'Betrischesworthe,' Latine vero Beodrici curtis, sive habitatio, nominatur, basilicam permaximam construxerunt, et ad illam sanctum martyrem in magno tripudio transtulerunt. Sed mirum dictu contigit; nam cum corpus martyris pretiosissimum ob spatium diuturni temporis putrefactum ab omnibus putaretur, ita integrum repertum est et illæsum, ut non solum caput corpori redintegratum et compaginatam, sed omnino nihil in eo vulneris, nihil apparuerit cicatricis. Sicque Deo dignus martyr Eadmundus, viventi simillimus, ad locum memoratum est translatus, apparente in collo ejus in signum martyrii pergyrum quasi filo coccineo, sicut testari solita fuit quædam beatæ recordationis fæmina, Oswen vocata, quæ ad sacrum martyris sepulchrum, jejuniis sæpe vacans et orationibus, permulta [transegit] annorum curricula, revulso beati martyris mausoleo, in cæna Dominica, ejus attondendo capillos et unguis præcidendo; quæ omnia diligenter colligens, et in capsella recondens, super altare illius ecclesiæ ponere consuevit, ubi usque in hodiernum diem veneratione debita conservantur.

HOW THE BODY OF SAINT EADMUND WAS DISCOVERED
UNDECAYED.

Many years passed away, and then, with the extinction of the flames of war, the piety of the faithful began to revive, and when they had witnessed many miraculous occurrences at the place where the body of the martyr was resting (it is now called Hoxen by the inhabitants), they erected in the royal town which the English call 'Betrischesworthe,' but which in Latin is called 'Beodrici curtis,' or 'habitatio,' a basilica of very great size, and translated the holy martyr to it with much enthusiasm. A marvellous occurrence followed; all had supposed that by the lapse of so long a time the precious body of the martyr would have crumbled to decay; yet it was found to be perfect and uninjured. Not only had the head been united and consolidated with the body, but there was no trace whatever to be seen of wound or scar. And so the martyr Eadmund, found worthy in God's sight, was translated to the place I have mentioned, in the semblance of actual life, only there appeared on his neck, as symbol of his martyrdom, what seemed to be a circlet of scarlet thread, as was often attested by a woman of happy memory, named Oswen, who passed a long series of years in attendance at the holy sepulchre of the martyr, in fastings oft and in prayer. At the festival of the Lord's Supper, she would open the tomb of the blessed martyr, to trim his hair, and to pare his nails. The relics she religiously collected, and stored in a casket; these she used to place on the altar of the church, where to this very day they are preserved with just veneration.

DE TRANSLATIONE EPISCOPATUS DOMMOCENSIS USQUE AD
HELMHAM.

Eodem anno obiit Weremundus, Dommocensis episcopus, post quem translata est sedes illa apud Helmham, et pro duobus episcopis, quorum unus sedem habuit apud Dommoc, et apud Helmham alter, unus est ordinatus episcopus, nomine Wilredus, qui in eodem loco hos habuit successores, Athulfum, Alfricum, Theodredum, Ethelstanum, Algarum, Alwinum, Alfricum, Stigandum, Ethelmum, Herstanum.

P. 328, A.D. 878. Ab exercitu regis Alfredi idem Hinguar cum Hubba et Haldene et viris mille ducentis perempti sunt ante arcem Kinaith, ibique sanguinem beati regis et martyris Eadmundi, quem effuderant prædicti iniquitatis ministri, Christiani Alfredi regis milites vindicarunt . . .

Gytro rex eorum in arcto constitutus fidem Christi se suscepturum promisit; quæ omnia, ut promiserat, fideliter adimplevit, nam post dies quindecim idem rex paganus cum triginta electissimis de exercitu suo viris, non longe ab Ethelingeie in loco qui patria lingua Alre dicitur baptizatus est, et ab Alfredo rege de fonte levatus, a quo etiam in filium adoptionis admissus patrinusque ejus effectus, ipsum mutato nomine Athelstanum vocavit; cujus chrismatis depositio octavo die in villa regia facta est, quæ 'Wadmor' nuncupatur, et rex nuper baptizatus, cum aliis qui cum ipso fidem Christi susceperant, duodecim diebus cum rege Alfredo in magna lætitia remanserunt; quibus rex in recessu suo multa donaria et pretiosa

HOW THE BISHOPRIC OF DUNWICH WAS TRANSFERRED TO
ELMHAM.

This same year died Weremund, the bishop of Dunwich. After his episcopate the see was transferred to Elmham, and in place of the two bishops, one in the see of Dunwich, the other in the see of Elmham, a single bishop was ordained, named Wilred, and he had for successors at Elmham, Athulf, Alfric, Theodred, Ethelstan, Algar, Alwyn, Alfric, Stigand, Ethelmund, Herstan.

Hinguar, together with Hubba and Haldane and twelve hundred men, were killed by King Alfred's army before the fortress of Kinwith, and there the blood of the blessed king and martyr Eadmund, which had been shed by the aforesaid agents of iniquity, was avenged by the Christian soldiers of King Alfred. . . .

Guthrum, their king, finding himself hemmed in, promised to embrace the Christian religion, and fully and faithfully redeemed his promise. A fortnight later the pagan king with thirty of the *élite* of his army was baptized not far from Athelney, at a place called in the local dialect Aller. He was raised from the font by King Alfred, by whom also he was adopted as a son, and from whom as from a father he received the new name of Athelstan. At the octave his baptismal fillet was laid aside at a royal town known by the name of Wedmore, and the recently baptized king, with the others who had embraced with him the Christian religion, remained for twelve days with King Alfred in great joy. Alfred in taking leave of them made them many valuable presents, and conceded to their

conferens, principi eorum Athelstano Est-Angliam, in qua sanctus regnaverat Eadmundus de se tenendam concessit.

UT GYTRO REX EST-ANGLIAM INHABITAVÉRIT.

Anno Domini DCCCLXXIX. nefandus paganorum exercitus Cirencestriam relinquens ad Anglos orientales perrexit, ubi Gytro rex nuper baptizatus, regionem illam inter suos dividens, inhabitare cœpit.

chieftain Athelstan the province of East Anglia, in which St. Eadmund had reigned, to be held from himself.

HOW GUTHRUM DWELT IN EAST ANGLIA AS KING.

In the year of our Lord 879, the impious host of the heathen left Cirencester, and proceeded to East Anglia, where Guthrum, their recently baptized king, divided the land amongst his followers, and settled down to dwell.

WILLIAM OF RAMSEY

Cambridge University Library.

Dd. 11. 78.

Incipit prologus in uitam sancti edmundi.

Plus uolo quam ualeo regis memorando triumphos
Edmundi . dignos nobiliore stilo.
Nam licet attollat me magna professio . non est
Tanta facultatis scribere gesta mée.
Spes hominum sanctus rex est ; ego flebilis ipsum
Et reus . et cecus hec tria dona peto.
Flebilis hac peto spe reparer . reus hoc peto sancto
Sanctificer . cecus hoc peto rege regar.

Incipit vita Sancti edmundi Regis et martiris.

126 a Bellorum uarios experta Britannia motus
vt totum posset perdere multa dedit.
Propter opem dispersit opes . saxonibus . anglis.
et iutis . nec opem set nocumenta tulit.
Tutoresque suos sibi sensit obesse . Britannis
Exulibus . reges ferre coacta nouos.
Cui ne perpetuum pareret dolus ille dolorem.
Leticie causam prebuit ipse dolor.
Miserunt anglis puerum saxones alendum,

Qui restauraret quod rapuere patres.
Edmundus felix et mundus carne pudica
Floruit . et mundus cessit et hostis ei.
Eius enim studuit ratio compescere sensum.
et frenum posuit hostibus una tribus
Subiecit mundum . domuit carnem . superauit
Hostem . contemptu . sobrietate . fide.
His tribus hec uicit tria . carnem sobrietate.
Mundum contemptu . demoniumque fide.
Anglorumque puer fines habitauit eóos
Vt consanguineus regis alumpnus ophé.
¶ Insignem puerum ditat . dotat . polit . aurum
Doctrine . fidei gemma . pudoris ebur.
et tanto fruitur hominumque deique fauore.
Eius ut abscondi laus nec ab hoste queat.
Simplicitas puerilis . inest . robur iuuenile.
Decrepitus sensus . uirgineusque decor.
Dissimulare nichil didicit uel fingere simplex.
126 b Cuius in effigie mens quasi scripta patet.
Hunc usum uirtutis habet . ne debiliores
Ipse premat . uel ne fortior alter eum.
Aduertit prudens quam mundi flebile carmen
Quam dampnosa salus . quamque pudendus honor.
Imperio dignam faciem tranquilla sereni
Pax animi lenem conspicuamque facit.
Sic animo simplex et prudens . corpore fortis.
et pulcher . uitium collaterale fugit.
Non errat quia simplex . non fallit quia prudens.
Non quia fortis obest . non quia pulcher amat.
Quod plus est fame titulis et laudis honore

Cum placeat cunctis non placet ipse sibi.
Fama celebris ei defert . nec eum tamen effert.
Laus satis afflat ei . nec tamen inflat eum.
Felix cui soli dotes feliciter ista
Arrident . uultu quelibet una mero.
Simplicitas . sensus . laus . robur . forma propinque
Coniunctis longe dissociata malis.
Simplicitas cauet errorem . prudentia fraudem.
Laus fastum . Robur iurgia . forma nefas.
Nobilitant iuuenem mentis clementia . lingue
Eloquium . morum gratia . stirpis apex.
Nec tam stirpis apex quam morum gratia causam
Prebet ut in regem perficiatur ibi.
Nam totius eum populi non sorte set arte.
Erigit in regem leta libensque manus.
127 a Gratuitus simplexque fauor . liber placidusque
Consensus . stabilis unanimesque fides.
Affectans prodesse magis quam preesse, sepulti.
Supplendas patrui . suscipit ille uices.
Preest ut tollat onus . non ut tollatur honore.
Vt pretendat opem . non ut aceruet opes.
Resplendente caput diademate . dext[e]ra sceptro.
Fulget . et indigene iura petunt ab eo.
Nullum munus habens quod eis concedere malit.
Exerit ultrices ad scelus omne manus.
Quando tribunali posito . sedet . et sapientes
Considunt . aurem dirigit et cor et os.
Auris ut exquirat . cor iudicet . os manifestet.
Vter causarum iura fauere uelint.
Non equidem seruo liber . non paupere diues.

Aut econuerso plus ibi iuris habet.
Nullum plus alio contempnit uel reueretur.
Nescit uel noscit . persequitur uel amat.
Pupillos uiduasque fouet . lapsos humilesque
Erigit . elatos cismaticosque premit.
Quod tamen ipsius dispensatiua rigorem
Gratia precellat fiscus et aula probant.
Nam rigor effrenes importunosque coeracet.
Gratia confessis supplicibusque fauet.
Fiscus pauperibus desolatisque medetur.
Aula peregrinis hospitibusque patet.
Omnibus esse studet affabilis et socialis.
127 b Quantum maiestas regia posse sinit.
Omnibus applaudit . omnes ueneratur . et illud
Prudentis uerbum se meminisse probat.
Te sibi preficiunt . non extollare . set esto
Vnus ut ex illis . hec sibi dicta notat
Nam se prebet eis non maiestate seuerum.
Non iussis rigidum . non ditione grauem.
Diues¹ est rexque potens est absque cupidine diues.
Absque tyrannide rex . absque tumore potens.
Dona dei cernens . liuore diabolus égro.
Ad fomenta mali nititur esse bonus.
Edmundumque parat quasi iob temptare . set artis
Exitus illius qui fuit huius erit.
Ambo quidem reges . pugnant regaliter . uno
Ordine temptati . iob prius . iste modo.
Job primo sua . deinde suos . et ad ultima sese.
Amittens . fortis . uir paciensque fuit.

¹ The first 'est' is superfluous.

A simili perdens edmundus opes et amicos.
et sese constans unanimisque fuit.
Sed restat perhibere modum . quo demonis ira
Vnde putauit eum uincere uicta fuit.
Demon eum per se nequiens temptare . ministros
Instigat sceleris ynguar et hubba sui.
Mittit eos aquilo quia panditur ex aquilone
Omne malum . cuius hii duo peste rigent.
Vt pote furtorum nebula . scelerumque pruina.
Nequicie bruma . perfidieque gelu.

128 a Hoc genus est hominum . quibus est innata nocendi
Anxietas . prede questio . cedis amor.
Qualis yperboreos habitat gens barbara montes
Talis gens . immo talia mostra daci.
Carnibus humanis solitos et sanguine uesci
Hinc antropofagos grecus utrosque uocat.
Cum quibus ut legimus prius antichristus inibit
Fedus . ut humano sanguine potet eos.
Gentibus occiduis nimium uicina dacorum.
Iam feritas regem credit adesse suum.
Iam subiecit adhuc uenturo colla tyranno.
Cuius iussa prius quam iubeatur agit.
Iam piratarum furtis uiolare fideles
Audet . et ecclesiam sollicitare metu.
Inguar et hubba daci satis exemplariter in se
Insinuant que sit gentis origo sue.
Atrox . seductor . dirus fur . trux homicida
Per mare piratas ducit uterque rates.
Ingeminatque scelus . atrox seductor atrocis
Dirus fur diri . trux homicida trucis.

Quos male seruato dum northammbría¹ portu
Excipit . ex toto depopulantur eam.
Ablata preda . multatis ciuibus . ingar.
Ad classem rediens . hubba relinquit ibi.
Inde recedentem Zabulo duce . prospera uersus
Meridionalem dirigit aura plagam.
Edmundi regis nil tale timentis aditur

128 b Armata regnum terribilique manu.

Horret inhumano calcata satellite tellus
et gratatur eos se uomuisse fretum.
Furtiue dextram subit urbem mente sinistra
Inguar . et in meritas diruit igne domos.
Seuit barbaries leonum more leonum.
Quos fera non rabies immo ferina mouet.
Pregnantes pariter multant . sterilesque puellas.
Fortes interimunt magnanimosque uiros.
Virgineum uiolant matronalemque pudorem.
Infantes iugulant . decrepitosque senes.
Haut secus in troes et bello capta decenni
Pergama . grecorum seuiit ira ferox.
Nec minor est misera mulierum clamor in urbe
Quam tunc iliadum cum caperentur erat.
Impia turba furit . seuoque placere tyranno
et cedi digno non nisi cede putat.
Nam iubet interimi cunctos armatus inermes.
Hasque sue causas impietatis habet.
Scilicet ut secum gesturi prelia regis.
Tot pereant uires . quot periere uiri
Et quanto properet plures occidere . tanto

¹ This does not scan. Perhaps 'Northanhumbria' was meant.

Rex occurrat ei debiliore manu.

Iamque superstitibus paucis . de rege tyrannus

Querit ubi degat . indigeneque docent.

Explorator eo ueniens ex parte tyranni

Exorditur in hunc nuntia uerba modum.

129 a Huc me direxit regum rex ynguar . et ex te

et simul ex omni gente tributa petens.

Istud enim litus multis comitatus adiuit

Diuersas terras subiciendo sibi.

Humani generis uix tota resistere uirtus

Posset . quis solus ergo resistet ei ?

Omnis ei suberit humane natio stirpis.

Fixi spera soli thetios unda uage.

Classe potens . armis probus . ortu clarus . in undis

Militat . in terris regnat . in orbe micat.

Teque sibi census iubet impertire paternos.

Totum des . totum si retinere uelis.

Quod iubet expedias . indulgeat ut tibi uitam.

Dilatet regnum . multiplices det opes.

Nec modo desit opum . set regni . nec modo regni

Set uite . tibi spes si minus istud agas.

et quis tu . tantis ne putas tantillus obesse

tot ne lacessere uis milia solus homo ?

Nec mare neptunus . nec celum iupiter audet.

Aduersum nostri iussa mouere ducis.

Illius imperio fauet unusquisque deorum.

et concedit ei quicquid honoris habet.

Subdit ei uentos ueloces eolus . yrim.

Nubiferam iuno . monstra marina tethis.¹

¹ So in the MS. 'Thetis' is intended.

Huic elementa fauent . ita tu ne fauere recusas.
Huic ita dii subsunt . tu ne subesse negas ?
¶ Explorator ab hiis tacuit . rex ingemit . et se
129 b Perplexum simulat . consiliumque petit.
Quo super articulo consultus episcopus illi.
Consultit ut faciat que sibi insea legit.
¶ Rex faciem meditantis habens oculosque deorsum
Defigens . rursum post breue tempus ait.
Incubuit nobis inopinus episcopo casus
Non expectato uulnus ab hoste tulit.
Scis quia sum populi tutor . christique fidelis.
Aggrediar ne fugam . uel uiolabo fidem ?
Tutori patrie . fidei mandata professo.
Turpe subire fugam . turpe referre pedem.
Ense petit stricto me barbarus aduena regem.
Anticiporque nichil . unde renitar habens.
Barbara fraus igitur poterit mihi demere uitam
Vel libertatem . non tamen ambo simul.
Causa uterque malus . sed ineuitabilis alter.
Quod minus officiat . debeo malle malum.
Seu mortem seu seruitiumque deo.¹
Cumque tributa petar . noua siue nouissima suades
Vt soluam ? soluam prima tributa prius.
Subiectis ne meis preero nec prodero . dicar
Rex ego . si nec me nec mea sceptrum rego ?
Malo mori liber quam uiuere seruus . et osi
Indulgeretur mors mihi uita meis
Quosque tutari nequeo . decet ut mea uiui
Fata flectant . potius quam sua uiuus ego.

¹ The text is here faulty.

Vt prius hec uerbis ortatur episcopus illum.
 130 a Iam nec sunt quos tu uis superesse tibi.
 Iamque cadaueribus cesis hebetata securis
 Ne sis securus premonuisse potest.
 Inguar adest . ira furoreque felleus . actu
 Affectuque malus . ense manuque ferus.
 Vt loquar emphatice . non felleus . immo fel ipsum
 Non malus immo malum . non ferus immo furor.
 Cui scelus esse pium . pietas est esse scelestum.
 Fraudem nosse fides . fraus quoque nosse fidem.
 Huic nisi subiectus faueas . profugus ne recedas
 Non fugies gladium . subiciere neci.
 Senus enim pariter te sceptris et tibi sceptra
 Tollet et in penas non satis unus eris.
 ¶ Respondens iterum sancti constancia regis
 Hoc mihi quod potius opto minaris ait.
 Gens mea cesa iacet . cum iudex esse iacentis
 Non ualeam . restat ut comes esse uelim.
 Quos nec defendi uiuos . nec uindico cesos.
 Viuens lamentor . interiensque sequar.
 Vis ut¹ in extremis et iam uergente senecta
 Sit mea uita meo pluris honore mihi
 vt rex solus . egens . inglorius antra pererrem ?
 et fruticum latebras hoste fugante petam.
 Mors innata uenit . cur mors illata timeri
 Debeat . est bona mors cui bona causa subest.
 Mortis uero genus quod possit honestius esse
 Quam patria regem pro morienti mori.
 130 b Sit dominus . nec me remouere potest ab amore

¹ 'ut' between the lines in another hand.

- Christi . nec christum mors ab amore meo.
 Funiculus triplex uix rumpitur . et ter inunctus
 Crismate . quo christum perfidus ore negem ?
 Vnctio prima fidem michi contulit . altera sanxit.
 Tercia promouit tempore queque suo.
 Hic fuit ordo fidem mihi prima . sequens fidei me
 Tercia me sceptris et mihi sceptrum dedit.
 Sic mihi ter munus dedit unum trinus et unus.
 Quodque ter accepi non uiolabo semel.
 Nunc hostis christi fictum pretendit amorem
 Intenditque meam sollicitare fidem.
 Diuinisque putat sua me preponere dona.
 Per tria danda tribus uult spoliare datis.
 Ipse mihi uitam regnum promittit opesque
 Hec qui mortalis . aduena . pauper eget.
 Quomodo mortalis uitam dabit . aduena regnum
 Pauper opes . christus hec mihi dona dedit.
 Rex uiuens opulentus adhuc . non rex peto regnum
 Non uiuens uitam non opulentus opes.
 Sunt satis hec ut ei sceleratus apostata subdam
 Que soli soleo subdere colla deo.
 ¶ Tunc conuersus ait nostrorum cede cruentum.
 Nuntie ne dubites te meruisse necem.
 Set tibi parco . redi . refer hec mandata . sciatque
 Dux inguar . quia rex nolo subesse duci.
 Nec quia rex idcirco duci contempno subesse.
 131 a Set quia quam teneo non tenet ille fidem.
 Vt que loquar breuiter . hoc est quod abhominor . ut me
 Catholicum regem dux ydolatra regat.
 ¶ Uix dum rex ita fatus erat . vix inde reuertens

Nuntius exstiterat . obuius inguar adest.
 Paruaque uix tolerans sceleris momenta patrandi
 Nuncie quicquid ait dixeris esto breuiis.
 Ille refert . uix ille potest audire loquentem.
 Vix differre nefas . uix retinere manus.
 Cumque suis audit iussis obsistere regem.
 Clausus in accenso se probat ore furor.
 Saltitat ut tigris . fremit ut leo . seuit ut ursus
 et nichil humane iam rationis habet.
 Protinus irrumpens penetrat penetralia regis.
 Circumfusa cohors sicut ouile lupi.
 Seuus et horribilis miles ruit absque repulsa.
 Fortis et armatus . rex sedet absque metu.
 Fortis et armatus . nec fortis uiribus . immo
 Mente . nec armatus ensibus . immo fide.
 Armatusque fide mentali . mente fideli.
 Obicit armatis corpus inerme dolis
 Plebs rea . plebsque furens . regem capit . ecce reatus
 Innocuum uinolis mancipat . ecce furor.
 Ducitur ante ducem sicut ihesus ante pilatum
 Vir pius ante trucem . vir sacer ante reum.
 Alligat arboré frondi . multoque cruentat
 Fuste pium . regem . plebs pietate carens.
 131 ^b Cesus non cedit . uictus non uincitur . immo
 Christum flebilibus inuocat ille sonis.
 Sacrum sacrilegus celeste scelestus abhorret
 Nomen . et inde magis seuit iniquus eques.
 Missilibus¹ petitur rex insignis quasi signum
 Purpureoque rubet alba cruore caro.

¹ 'i' inserted between lines in another hand.

- ¶ O fera lenarum soboles . ve matribus illis
 Que conculcato uos peperere sinu.
 Iste quid offecit uestri saciare furoris
 Nequa sitim possit sanguinis unda sui.
 Patribus orbauit uos forsan ynguar et hubba.
 Vos ursi . uestros dii genuere duces.
 Quod uos in siluis ursi genuere rapaces
 Vestri cedis amor . uestra rapina probat.
 Vestrorumque ducum genitor deus esse probatur.
 Si possit demon incubus esse deus.
 Hic rex catholicus¹ ursosque demandos²
 Duxit . rex ursos . catholicusque deos.
 Forsan et hec uestros armauit causa furores.
 Ipse tamen nescit se meruisse necem.
 Tanta quid ergo iuuat effusio sanguinis et tot
 Vnius causas multiplicare necis ?
 Iam loca uulneribus desunt . nec dum furiosis
 Tela . sed yberno grandine plura uolant
 Fas ibi . meta . modus . perit . exceduntque furoris
 Fas . odii metam . seuitieque modum.
 Grando sagittarum nugatur . tam sine causa.
 132 a Tamque simul repetens . tamque frequenter idem.
 Nil nisi decusum decedit . nil nisi uulnus
 Wlnerat . idque simul . et semel et fit et est.
 Iam iaculis Martýr ut spinis carduus horret.
 Vel rubet . ut secis³ hereticus uel aper.
 Tot tamen et tantis cor inexpugnabile flecti.
 Suppliciiis . nulla conditione potest.

¹ ² Margin in another hand, '*diuos, demandos.*'

³ '*setis hericius*' is required.

Martyr enim fidens . rigidus . christum uocat alte.
Ecce fides . mortem despicit . ecce rigor.

¶ Inguar eum cernens nullum prebere lanistis
Assensum . mentem dissimulare nequit.
Mentis enim manifesta patent in corpore signa.
Hinc rubor . hinc stridor . hinc tumor . inde rigor.
Depromunt furias frons eius et os . fel et ira.
Frons rubet . os stridet . fel tumet . ira riget.
Neue pigre facinus faciat . scelus accelerari
Insontemque mori precipit absque mora.
Soluit eum lictor . et prepungente repectas
Co[n]starum latebras . amputat ense caput.

¶ Sic mundum superans edmundus . mense nouembri
Mente nouus . uite premia . uictor habet.
Rex uiuens et ouans nichil amisisse uidetur
Rex fuit est . uixit uiuit . ouauit ouat.
Litem . dampna . necem . subiit . pro lite triumphus
Pro dampnis lucrum . pro nece uita datur.
Sed qui sic occidit eum nunc occidit , et qui
Seuit seuitiam . nunc metit inde metum.

132 b Corpus ibi truncum iacet . uniusque sepulchri
Multa sagittarum supplet harundo uicem.
Neu tumuli possit potioris honore potiri.
Immo sit ignotum . tollitur inde nota.
Carnifices caput arripiunt et omittere nolunt.
Quin exterminii sentiat omne genus
Preda uolatilibus uia sit¹ serpentibus . hospes
Vepribus . hospitium uermibus . esca feris.
Condensusque frutex et inexplorabilis abdit

¹ 'sit' between lines in another hand.

Tam graue . tam reuerens tam speciale sacrum.
 Singula de longe cuidam patuere latenti
 In silua mortis supplicique metu.
 et caput auferri . uidit sciuitque quod usquam
 Esset in absconso . sed dubitauit ubi.
 ¶ Rege trucidato . nullum quem terreat . aut cui
 Irascatur habens . terror et ira cadit.
 Terror desistens non mitescens . tamen ira
 Ebria sanguinibus non saciata tamen.
 Quos alios igitur furto necet inguar eodem
 Querit . et exhaustam gente relinquit humum.
 Vix parcit . nec habet cui parcat uix ab agendo
 Desistit . nec habet impius in quid agat.
 Diffugere uiri . pastore uidelicet icto.
 Disperguntur oues . et sibi quisque timet.
 Hic status est dame que quando reuertitur esu
 Inuenit errantem per sua lustra lupum.
 Dilitet infelix dum predo recesserit . itque
 133 a et redit . et proprios excubat ante lares.
 Haut secus ecclesiam latebris formido coerces.
 Dum uidet horrentes in sua regna datos.¹
 Nam piratarum furum spirare furorem.
 Credit et absentes fingit adesse timor.
 Mox successiue profert caput . erigit aures.
 Circumfert oculos . egrediturque foras.
 et dubio suspensa metu nunc exit in arua.
 Nunc redit in siluas . itque . reditque frequens.
 Gressibus appendens animos . abit alter ab agris
 In latebras . alter a latebris in agros.

¹ 'datos' in MS. Read 'dacos.'

Alta tenens alter montis fastigia . uisu
 Querit et auditu quos reperire timet.
 et gaudet quia non reperit . plebique recessum
 Nuntiat hostilem . uix ea credit ei.
 Excludit formido fidem . set ab experiente.
 Connititur¹ tandem plebe quod hostis abest.
 Cuius inhumanos homines abiisse uidentis
 Cor resilit meror decedit . horror abit.
 Premissos gemitus precedentesque querelas
 Plausus . lumen . pax . commoditasque lauat.
 Plausus post planctum . lumen post nubila . pax post
 Prelia . commoditas post nocumenta iuuans.
 Quem nisi successum turbarent tristia regis .
 Facta, uideretur . totus abisse dolor.
 Omnes una premit generalis causa doloris
 Quod tumuli princeps tantus honore caret.
 133 ^δ Tristis eum populus . querens non inuenit . immo
 Acephalum reperit . expositumque feris.
 Dampna querens capitis ubi querere debeat illud
 Nescit . et ancipiti fertur ubique gradu.
 Itur in antiquam siluam . que tam preciosi
 Conscia thesauri . quo spoliatur habet.
 Per iuga per siluas . per deuia lustra ferarum
 Ambiguos certus dirigit ordo uiros
 Intendunt gressu patili . seseque uocando
 Vocibus alternis ductilibusque² tubis.
 Neue relinquatur . aliquis locus . aut repetatur
 Quisque sequi comites . quisque prei[e]re cauet.

¹ Glossed in margin '*Connicitur.*'

² '*que*' between lines in another hand.

et sibi clamantes . respondentesque *uicissim*¹

Explorant ubi sit unus . et alter ubi.

Tum caput acclamans . her . her . her . quod dicitur hic .
hic

Hic . se supplicibus monstrat adesse suis.

Curritur ad uocem iocundam . mente iocosa

Sudorisque sui premia quisque uidet.

O . noua forma rei . nouitas formosa . potestas

Subsidians domini . subsidiumque potens.

Actus et effectus . quem nulla potentia . nulla

Causa preit . nullo uerba mouente sonat.

Exanimi lingua resecato gutture . cesis.

Arteriis uocem mortuus edit homo.

Nec uir qui loquitur . set cesus uir . neque cesus

Est uir . set cesi pars mutilata uiri.

Amplexusque caput . lupus anterioribus ulnis

134 a Predo malus tutor incipit esse bonus.

Nam partes tutoris agens . fugat inde colubros.

et uermes arcet inde feras et aues.

Immemor ipse sui defendit quod rapiebat.

Excuba fit cuius insidiator erat.

Est lupus . et pastor . simul . et semel . unus et
idem.

Perfidus . et fidus . dissimilisque sibi.

¶ Presentes hec intuitos miracula . quis non

et plausisse sciat . et doluisse putet ?

Sanctus enim martyr et uiuum se probat ; ecce

Plausus . et occisus cernitur ; ecce dolor.

¹ MS. '*uicissimi*.'

Tollentes caput inde uiros sequitur lupus usque
 Ad tumulum . rarus terribisque comes.
 et similis flenti nec fert nocumenta . nec infert
 vlla . set illesus in sua lustra redit.
 Apti sui capitis recipit consortia corpus.
 et coniuncta decens ambo locellus habet.
 Arta superstruitur . stature cellula parue.
 Forme neglecte . materieque leuis.
 Prodigiiis signat . et signis prodit apertis.
 Se memorem christus martýris esse sui.
 Nam decet expresse quis credi debeat esse
 Quantillaque domo quantus humetur homo.
 ¶ Haut procul á cella puero prestante ducatum
 Aggreditur cecus grande uiator iter.
 Cogit eos finita dies finire dietam
 Spem negat . hospicii nox prope . uilla procul.
 134 b Compulsi subeunt . ignote tecta capelle.
 Vt sua nocturno membra sopore leuent.
 Ingressis offendiculum prebente sepulchro.
 Horrentes subito stant quasi crista come
 Set postquam clausere fores excluditur horror.
 Esse debet tutum . quicquid oportet agi.
 In cella iuxta tumulum clausoque meatu
 Exclusoque metu sternit uterque sibi.
 Pro ceruicali tumulus . pro tegmine tectum.
 Pro lecto tellus . corpora fessa fouet.
 Preque metu puero uigilante diutius . ecce
 Lux celestis adest . uisa cremare locum.
 Horret in aspectu puer . ignarumque magistrum
 Voce uocans trepida . surge cremamur ait.

Ille studet timidum uerbis animare . nec ignem
Immo iubar missum celitus esse docet.

¶ Postera lux oritur . matutinisque serenat

Aurore titan atria plena rosis.

Vnum dupliciter sibi mane diascere cecus

Miratur . noctes lux fugat una duas.

Noctem perpetuam . noctemque superuenientem

Terminat illustrans lumina ceca iubar.

Disceditque uidens qui cecus uenerat . ore

Altissono laudans glorificansque deum.

Tum regio regem¹ fert egre tam decorandum

In tam dedecori dilituisse casa.

Bedrici curtis translatus Martýris ad se

135 a Corpus . in ecclesia nobiliore locat.

Quodque fide maius putredine qui resolutus

Esse putabatur . est quasi uiuus adhuc.

Nullus enim uiuum uitii dissoluerat ignis

Nullaque defunctum mortis adurit hiemps.

Quem se non solum non dissoluisse sepulcri

Ingluies . immo composuisse probat.

Est oblita sui mutilumque redintegrat istum

Integros alios que mutilare solet.

Nam diuina manus tot in illo uulnera sanans.

Nulla cicatricis signa relinquit ibi.

Corporis et capitis unus fit terminus . unum

Fiunt continuum contiguata duo.

¶ Vena tamen tenuis aurique simillima filo

Sanguinis effusi signa rubore notat.

Hanc mulier simplex oswen uidisse quot annis

¹ 'regem' corrected from 'regum.'

In cena domini se perhibere solet.
Illo namque die sancti precidere regis
Vngues et crines mos inoleuit ei .
et ne posteritas istud non crederet . inter
Reliquias reliquas illa reliquit eos.

¶ Vidit idem mirum theodredus episcopus . apte
Vir bonus . agnomen á bonitate trahens.
Eius erat uiri subiecta diocesis . in qua
Tam celebrem famam Martýr adeptus erat.

¶ Cuius ad ecclesiam spoliandam nocte latrones
Octo malignandi dirigit unus amor.

135 b Instrumenta quibus utuntur sunt tria . scala
Vanga . stilus . tribus hiis furta patrare parant.
Scala namque . stilo . uanga . subit ille fenestras.
Dissipat ille seram . perfodit ille domum.
Vtque meduseos subito si uiderit angues
Figitur . et lapidis quilibet instar habet.
Nec complere queunt ceptum . nec omittere furtum.
Noxque superuacuum tota perurget opus.
Lucifer astra fugat . accusatrixque latronum
Restituit mundo solis origo diem.
Mille superueniunt . et adhuc tamen heret in actu
Quisque suo . nec enim posset abire uolens.
Furta patent . fures sententia presulis ante
dicti . suspendi precipitata iubet.
Cuius eum mox penituit . multosque per annos
Indulsit lacrimis . mesticieque graui.
Vt sancti liceat edmundi tangere sanctum
et mundum corpus . eius anelat amor.
Participesque uocat sexus utriusque fideles.

Quosque dioceseos per loca cuncta sue.
 Post indicta quibus tridui ieiunia . sanctum
 Viuenti similem se reperire stupet¹
 Admiranda uidet sacra . tangit uisa . leuatque
 Tacta . leuata lauat . lota reponit humi.
 Vidit idem . set non zelo lefstanus eodem.
 Officiiue sui non tulit omen idem.
 Altus et elatus effrenis et improbatus . acer
 136 a et stolidus . multis causa timoris erat.
 Aggrediens feretrum . monet ut reseretur . et addit
 Imperium monitis . imperioque minas.
 Sed rationis iter feretro sibi claudit aperto
 et sensum perdit quo male functus erat.
 Regressusque domum . furit amens quem nec amici
 Nec socii possunt nec pater ipse pati.
 Exul abit . mendicus obit . nec fiendus amicis
 Nec miserum funus unde tegatur habens.
 ¶ Sic domat indomitos animaduertitque seuerus
 In presumptores martyris ira suos.
 Attamen est pietas eius super omnia facta.
 Eius et affectum rarior ira uenit.
 Ad sacrum cuius tumultum quacumque grauatis
 Peste solet christus ferre salutis opem.
 Inuenit hic ueniam peccator . dona dolentes
 Que cupiunt capiunt . et quibus eger eget.
 Contractum . mutum . cecus . surdus uidet audit
 Ire . loqui . nouitas est utrobique duplex.
 Audit namque loqui surdus mutum . uidet ire
 Cecus contractum . set quasi parua loquor.

¹ 'stupet' corrected from 'studet.'

Nam tisice perit ariditas . et reumatis humor.
 Letargi frigus . ictericeque calor.
 Canceris ingluuies . lepre putredo . podagre.
 Nodus . demonii fraus . manieque furor.
 et februm languor . epilensieque procella
 Ydroposisque tumor . paralisisque tremor.

136 b Quid moror ? ad tumultum peregre quicumque profectus
 Certi profectus emolumenta feret.

¶ O . quam glorifica super ethera luce coruscat
 Cuius et in terris gloria tanta nitet
 Quantus aput christum celesti fulget in aula
 Qui tot apud mundum dat monumenta sui.
 Est suus affectus effectus . et ad faciendum
 Quidlibet instanter non nisi uelle decet.
 Corporis in tumulto patet integritate pudoris
 Integritas in eo . uirgineumque decus.
 Immarcessibili redimitus tempora lauro
 Fert palmam rutilam fert diadema micans.
 Quin etiam preter palmam . preter diadema
 Preter laureolam . sunt tria signa trium.
 Signa gerit uirgo . Rex . martyr . virginitatis
 Regni . Martýrii . lilia . sceptrum . Rosas.
 Eius enim dextre candentia lilia . sceptrum
 Aurea conueniunt purpuréeque rose.
 Lilia nimirum quia uirgo. Rosas quia martýr
 Sceptrum gerit quia rex et sine fine geret.
 Cuius perducatur nos ad consortia . christus
 Saluator mundi . cuius ouile sumus.
 Rex regum cum eo sit patri . spirituique.
 Sancto . nunc . et per secula laus et honor . amen.

Explicit uita sancti edmundi regis et Martýris.

¶ Incipit prosa in uita eiusdem rimice composita

Stupet caro stupet mundus
137 a Stupet spiritus immundus
Quos tres hostes rex ædmundus
Vno marte domuit.
Rex et miles . rex sanctorum
Miles regis angelorum
Sanctus . immo flos sanctorum
Sanctitate floruit.
Signum factus ad sagittam
Necem subit inauditam
Sed pro nece metit uitam
Pro dolore gaudium.
Signa fulgent nouitatum
Caput fatur amputatum
Cui dat lupo pastorum
Predo patrocinium.
Corpus ubi sepelitur
Nec cicatrix inuenitur
Neque uermis demolitur
Est enim virgineum.
Sana prorsus et serena
Gaudent membra . rubet gena
Collum tamen ambit uena
Quasi filum aureum.
Fures nectit . regem necat
Diocesianum cecat

Mire recrescentes secat
Crines eius vetula.
Aer egelwini uotis
Pontem supplet . arcum rotis
Clausa domus sacerdotis
Prebet igni pabula.
In ingressu ciuitatis
Declaratur martýr satis
Opem enim fert grauatis
Quacumque molestia.
Cuius opem consecutis
Claudis . cecis . surdis . mutis.
Per eundem nos salutis
Assequamur premia . amen.

Alia prosa de sancto edmundo Rimice composita.

Profitendo fidem solam
Rex Ædmundus suam stolam
Lauit agni sanguine.
Signum factus ad sagittam
Penam necis exquisitam
Fert pro christi nomine.
Perforatus mille telis
Decollatur rex fidelis
Pro grege fidelium.
Capud exit in loquelam
Cui lupus dat tutelam
Predo patrocinium.
Sepelitur caro cesa
Sana tamen et illesa

De sepulchro tollitur
137 b Sed pro nece sic illata
Vena quasi deaurata
Collo circumducitur
Vngues cernis¹ et capillos
Tondens anus . stupet illos
Quot annis recrescere.
Opus furum inanitur
Iudex perit . rex punitur
Rota fertur aere
Domus ardet sacerdotis
Claudi saltant . et egrotis
Prestantur remedia.
Qui sic ferit . et medetur
Promouere nos dignetur
Ad eterna gaudia. Amen.

Explicit prosa de sancto edmundo Rege et Martÿre.

¹ Mackinlay, from a Clare College Breviary, prints 'ejus' for 'cernis.'

LA VIE SEINT EDMUND LE REY

(Cott. MSS. Domit. A. XI.).

MULT ay use cum pechere
Ma vie en trop fole manere,
E trop ay use ma vie
En peche e en folie.
Kant courte hantey of les curteis,
Si fesai les serventeis,
Chanceunettes, rymes, saluz,
Entre les drues e les druz.
Mult me penay de teles vers fere,
10 Ke assemble les puise treire,
E kensemble fussent justez,
Pur acomplir lur volentez.
Ceo me fit fere le enemy,
Si me tynt ore a malbailly.
James ne me burderay plus,
Jeo ay noun Denis Piramus.
Mes jurs jolifs de ma joefnesce
Sen vunt ; si trey jeo a veilesce.
Si est bien dreit ke me repente,
20 En autre ovre metterai mentente,
Ke mult mieldre est e plus vutable,
Dieus me ayde espiritable ;

E la grace seint esprit
Seit of moy e si ayt.

- Cil ki Partonope trova,
E ki les vers fist e ryma,
Mult se pena de bien dire ;
Si dist il bien de cele matire,
Cum de fable e de menteonge ;
30 La matire ressemble suonge ;
Kar ceo ne put unkes estre ;
Si est il tenu pur bon mestre
E les vers sunt mult amez,
E en ces riches curtes loez.
E dame Marie autresi,
Ki en ryme fist e basti,
E compensa les vers de lays,
Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais.
E si en est ele mult loee,
40 E la ryme par tut amee.
Kar mult layment, si lunt mult cher,
Cunt, barun, e chivaler,
E si en ayment mult lescriit,
E lire le funt, si unt delit,
E si les funt sovent retreire ;
Les lays soleient as dames pleire.
De joye les oyent e de gre,
Quil sunt sulum lur volente,
Li rey, li prince, e li courtur,
50 Cunt, barun, e vavasur,
Ayment cuntres, chanceuns, e fables,
E bon diz qui sunt dilitables.

P

- Kar il hostent e gettent penser,
Doel, enuy, e travaille de quer,
E si funt ires ublier,
E del quer hostent le penser.
Kant cil e vus, segnur, trestuit,
Amez tel ovre e tel deduit,
Si vus volez entendre a mei,
60 Jeo vus diray par dreit fei
Un deduit qui milez valut asez
Ke ces autres ke tant amez,
E plus delitable a oyr ;
Si purrez les almes garir,
E les cors garaunter de hunte ;
Mult deit homme bien oyr tel cunte ;
Homme deit mult mielz a sen entendre
Ke en folie le tens despendre ;
Un dedut par vers vus dirray,
70 Ke sunt de sen e si verray
Kunkes rien ne pout plus veir estre ;
Kar bien le virent nostre ancestre,
E nus en apres, de eyr en eyr,
Avum bien veu que ceo est veyr ;
Kar a nos tens est aveneu,
De cestre oeuvre meynte verteu.
Ceo que homme veit, ceo deit hom crere ;
Kar ceo nest pas sunge ne arveire.
Les vers que vus dirray si sunt
80 Des enfantes de saint Edmunt,
E de miracles autresi ;
Unkes homme plus beals ne oy.

- Rei, duc, prince, e emperur,
Cunt, barun, e vavasur,
Deivent bien a ceste oevre entendre,
Kar bon ensample il purrunt prendre.
Rey deit bien oyr de autre rey,
E lensample tenir a sey,
E duc de duc, e quens de cunte,
90 Kant la reison a bien amunte.
Les bons genz deivent amer
De oir retreire, e recunter
Des bons gestes e les estoyres,
E retenir e lur memoyres.
Ore oyez, Cristiene gent,
Vus qui en Dieu omnipotent
Avez e fey e esperance,
E de salvatiun fiance.
Le seintim ber dunt jeo cunt,
100 Li bon duc, li plus Edmunt,
Fu de Suessoyne veirement,
Ne de reys e de halte gent ;
Des ancienes Sechnes fu ne,
Li e tute sa parente.
Princes e reis furent ses ancestres
E il apres, cum il dut estre,
Si fu en Engleterre reys,
De une partie des Engleys ;
Reys e dutre fu de la gent
110 Del pays devers orient.
Kar Engleterre en icel tens
Fu departi en treys sens,

E treys princes les segnuries
 Aveient de ces treys parties ;
 Kar un rey aveit en chescune.
 Seint Edmund esteit rei del une,
 De cele parte ou laube crieve,
 E ou lesteile journal lieve,
 E ou li soleile lieve en est ;
 120 Les peisanz le clayment est.
 Ore purreit acun doter,
 E de ceste oevre demander,
 Pur quey treis reis out en pays,
 En cel tens ensemble estays ;
 E seint Edmund fut un de treys ;
 Jeo le vus dirray sempres maneya.
 Kar ainz aveit, sanz mesprisun,
 Engleterre Bretaygne a noun,
 De Brut qui sa gent i mena,
 130 E qui la tere poplia.
 Pus la tyndrent de rey en rey
 En bien, en pes, e en requey,
 Dekes al tens de Vortigerne,
 Qui le pays mist devers Galerne,
 E pus jesqua Uter Pendragun,
 Tindrent la tere li Bretun.
 De Uter Pendragun jesque Arthur,
 La tyndrent il bald e seur.
 Apres Arthur la tere avint
 140 A Radawaladre¹ qui la tynt.
 En son tens vint une murine,

¹ i.e. Cadawaladre.

Ke lur surt de une famine ;
Ke les seisante parz e mais
De la faym mururent a fais.
Radewaladre,¹ qui reys fu,
Fu mult dolent e irascu,
De la gent que morerent de faym,
Ke ni aveient ne ble ne payn,
Dunt pussent vivre un repast ;
150 Le pais guerpirent tut gast,
Pur la mesese quil unt.
En Armoniche tuz sen vunt,
Ke petit Bretaygne ad a noun ;
La vait li reys e li Bretun,
Plurant, criant, fesant grant doel,
Morz voleient estre a lur voil ;
Suz ciel ne ad mesese endreit, sey
Ke tant greef cum faym en sey
Meis Alayn, qui sires esteit
160 De cel pays, bel les resceit,
Ki les donne assez guarisun,
Payn e vin, char a fuisun,
E richement fist sujourner,
Tant cum il i voldrent ester.
Dunc remist Bretaygne la grant
Sanz homme e femme e sanz enfant.
Trestut le pays fu gastine
Fors des oysels e de salvagine.
Kant les poeples ultremaryns,
170 Qui a Bretaygne furent enclyns,

¹ i. e. Cadewaladre.

Oyerent la novele dire,
Que les Bretuns unt lur empire
Issi deguerpi e leisse,
Mult en furent joyuse e lee.
Tost unt apreste lur navies,
De vitaille e de ble garnies,
Ceus de Suessune e les Engleis,
E de Gutlande les Gutteis.
Lur neefes aprestent e aturnent,
180 E lur peise ke tant sujournent,
Vitaile i amenent a delivre,
Dunt il purrunt bien set anz vivre,
E riches armes a plente,
E tute manere de ble,
De ces treis teres finement.
I vunt mult de la viste gent,
Li pruz, li joefne bacheler,
Pur los e pur pris conquerer.
Attendu unt e demure,
190 Tanque Dieus lur tramist oure :
Kant il virent le vent estable,
E que le oure fu covenable,
E ke de errer apreste sunt,
En mer se mettent, si sen vunt.
Tant se penerent de sigler,
Quil sentre atinstrent en la mer ;
E kant il pres aproiciez erent,
Les uns des autres se doterent.
Kar nule de ces treis navies,
200 Ki en mer sunt departies,

Ne saveit dautre, ceo est la veire,
Que en Bretaygne tenisent eire.
Il senterdemanderent quil sunt,
Dunt il vienent, e ou il vunt.
Tant unt enquis, tant demande,
Quil sentredient verite ;
Ke en Bretayne vunt pour conquere,
Hors de lur pays e lur tere.
Tant unt parle les chevetaynes
210 De treys genz e de treis compaynes,
Ki trestuz ensemble se alient,
E compaynie entrels se afient ;
E quil ensemble se tendrunt,
E james ne sentrefauderunt.
Tant unt sigle, tant unt curu,
Quil sunt en Bretaygne venu ;
Dreit vers la maryne del north
Siglent, vagent, e pernent port.
Le pais trovent delitable,
220 E la tere bien gaynable :
Il trouent les granz gayneries,
Boise e forest e praeries,
Pescheries bons e fines,
E sur la mer bons salynes.
Un meis il unt ja demure,
Tant quel pais sunt acerte.
Dunc funt les granz fosses lever
Pur ens garir e rescetter.
Levent bresteches od kernels,
230 Ke cuntrevallent bons chastels.

De hericuns e de paliz
Les ceynent, si funt riuleiz
Del quer des cheygues, forz e halz,
Ki ne criement sieges ne asalz.
Bon chastel i funt e bon burg,
Kum clayme uncore Escardeborg.
Pus ne se sunt pas alongni,
Kar de ble furent bien garni.
Les teres laborent e erent,
240 E richement les cultiverent.
Kar mult par furent a cel jour
Cele gent bon gaygnour.
Tant unt en tere travayle,
E labore e gaygne,
Quil aveient en tens grant plentez,
E del un e tuz blez.

En Armoniche est tost veneu
La novele e tost espandeu.
Kant les Bretuns loyerent dire,
250 Grant doel en aveient e grant ire ;
Si tost cum poent ariere vindrent
En Bretayne, quil primes tindrent,
Od tant de gent cum il aveient,
E cum il areimer purreient.
Il se aprochent vers cele gent,
Si les mandent mult cointement,
E lur messages les tramettent,
Ke de lur tere se demettent,
Ke est lur dreit et lur heritage,
260 Al gent deluc si frunt que sage ;

E sil ne volent pur amour
Tost issir hors de lur honour,
Par force les ferunt aler ;
Si serra pis le demurer.
Kant les foreyns de ultre mer
Oyerent les messagers parler,
E il escultent e entendent
Kil la tere les defendent,
Il remandent hardiement,
270 E as Bretuns e a lur gent,
Ke tost sen algent del pais,
Ou, si ceo noun si serra pis,
Le demurer as branz dascer
Lur covendra a desrayner ;
As branz de ascer e od la lance
Dereynerent la demurance.
Il sunt del desreyner tut prest,
Ke ceo est lur tere e lur conquest ;
Kar kant il en la tere entrerent,
280 Homme ne femme ni troverent
Ki de rien lur contredist,
Ne qui a reisun les mist ;
Kar en la tere dunc vivant
Ne out homme ne femme ne enfant.
Les Bretuns i sunt pus entrez,
Folement i sunt arivez.
Ceo les mandent bien li foreyn,
La batayle averunt eus demayn.
Kant les foreyns unt respundeu,
290 E les Bretuns unt entendeu,

Kil la batayle requerent,
Sachez que mult sen esmaierent.
Kar les foreyns sunt bien armez,
E plus gent unt quil nunt de asez,
Encuntre un de eus il en unt katre,
Nest pas ouwel icel cumbatre ;
Nepurkant les Bretuns
Sesbaudirent cum baruns.
Lendemayn funt lur chivaliers
300 Armer e munter lur destriers,
Od tant de gent cum il orent,
E cum il aramir poerent.
Od les foreyns dunc se assemblerent,
E meynt rude coupe donerent,
E les foreyns ensement
Se cumbatirent fierement,
Od branz, od haches, od espeies ;
Coupent testes e poynes e piez ;
Gettent lur grant pieres roundes
310 Od lur eslinges, od lur fundes,
Od les haches les vunt requere,
Ke tus les fendent desken tere ;
Lacent gavelocs enpennez,
Dunt il unt mil enboueliez,
Ke tut tresperce al primer vol ;
Hauberc ne vaut un foile de chol.
Kant les Bretuns ne purrent mes
De foreyns sustenir le fes,
En cumbatant, tienent lur veie,
320 Issi que nul ne se desreie.

Avant enveient la rascaile,
E les bestes od lur vitaille ;
Dreit a Gales les chies enclins
Tienent e veies e chimins,
Que Vortigerne ot poplie,
Kant de Bretayne fu chacie
Par Hors e Henge e lur gent,
Que Vortigerne veirement
Out ainces atraiz el pays,
330 Cum soldeers de grant pris ;
Tenu les out e nutes e jours
Feit lur out biens e grant honours,
E richement les soldea,
E real solde les dona ;
E cil garderent le pais
Bien de uthlages e de enemis.
Pus feseient mult grant treisun
Horse et Henge e son compaynun.
Le rey mandent a Ambresbire,
340 E les plus halz de son empire,
E il i vindrent veirement
Sanz arme cum a parlement.
Meis Horse et Henge et lur mesne,
Pur la tere quil unt coveite,
Vortigerne unt iluc pris,
E les autres unt tuz occis
Des knivez que unt en musceouns,
Que riches cuntes, que baruns,
Katre cent e ceisant e plus ;
350 Fors soul li rei, ne eschapa nuls.

- Vortigerne, qui sen embla,
E dreit en Guales sen ala,
Si i hanta il e sa gent,
Ke a li vyndrent coiement,
Pur seurte de cele gent,
E quil sunt de lur parent,
Il unt ceste gent descumfit.
Li rei ki el pais abit
Bel e haltement les resceut,
360 Cum parenz rescceyre dut.
La sunt les Bretuns areste,
E les foreyns sunt returne,
De la victoire, balz e lez,
E quil unt les Bretuns chaciez.
Issi perdirent li Bretun
Bretayne, e Bretayne son noun ;
E pur ceo heyent les Galeis
Par mortel guere les Angleis.
E les foreyns ultre-maryns,
370 Ki sages esteient de grant fins,
Vers la marine repayrerent,
Ou la menue gent laisserent,
Cum de femmes e denfanz,
E de anceles e de serjanz,
E si refirent mult que sages.
Pur ceo quil sunt de treis la[n]guages,
Il eslistrent entreis treis reys,
De chescun language dels treis,
Ke nuls de autre dire poust,
380 Ke greindre segnurie eust ;

E apres ceo lur loz loterent,
E la tere en treis departirent.
A cels de Angle chai le su,
Liez en furent, e bel lur fu
Sicum la mer lenvirune,
De Tamise dekes Hamtune.
De cels de Angle, sanz mesprisun,
Resceust Engleterre sun noun.
Le pais del north autresi
390 A cels de Guthlande chai,
D'Escoce dekes al Humbre ;
Grant erent, ne sai le nombre.¹
A un fier barun de Almayne,
Ki ert venu od la compayne,
Otrierent entrels Lyndeseie,
Pur sa ruiste chevalerie.
Lynde apellerent le barun ;
De li prist Lyndesei sun noun.
A cels de Sueisoine ensement
400 Chai le pais del Orient,
Sicum la mer le devise,
De Wythème dekes Tamise ;
Riche pais e gaynable,
E bon e douce e delitable.
Mult par i fait bon habiter,
A lun coste i feirt la mer,
Del autre parte est li mareis ;
Asez i a del pessun freis ;
Devant est de grant fosses ceynt,

¹ MS. mumbre.

- 410 Ke del une euwe al autre ateynt.
Est-angle apelent le pais
La gent ke i sunt estais,
Ki sunt asazez de tuz biens ;
Tut sunt manant, ne lur faut riens
Le pais est de treis cuntrees
Establi de bien e sazees,
Northfolk, Suthfolk, Estsex unt noun ;
De tuz biens i ad grant fuisun.
Les Suesunes furent bauz e leez,
420 Kar mult furent bien herbergiez,
Bien garderent cel est pais,
Après long tens, e anz e dis,
E pus tramistrent sanz essoyne
Lur messages deske a Sessoyne,
Pur lur freres, pur lur cosins,
Pur lur amys, pur lur veisins.
Kant il vyndrent, bien venuz
Sunt en pais e resceuz ;
Si poeplierent la cuntree,
430 Ou gaste fu e desertee ;
En richesce e joye e en pes
Vesquierent e lur eirs apres.
Un rey aveient, ceo fu le veir,
Prodomme mult de grant saveir ;
Offe out noun, si fu apelle,
Bon chivaler, sage e sene ;
E cristiente mult ama,
E seinte eglise enhauce.
Cil fu de Est-angle rei secund,

- 440 Devant le rey seint Edmund.
Le rey Offe fu mult marriz
De ceo quil ne out filee ne fiz,
A qui il puse deviser
Le regiun a sun finer.
Plusurs penses aveit en curage ;
Al parfin pensa que sage,
Ke a Jerusalem ira
E Jhesu Crist depriera,
Ke Jhesu Crist li doyne tel eir,
450 Ki digne seit del regne avoir.
Si purposa a la parfin
Ke par Sessoyne ert sun chemin,
Par son cusin qui reis esteit,
E qui Sessoyne maynteneit.
Il fet tost son eire aprester,
Kar il ne vult plus sujourner.
Primerement ad pris cunge
A seinte eglise e al clergie,
Pus prist cunge a ses princers,
460 As baruns e a chifalers,
E son regne les comanda ;
E mult¹ doucement les pria,
Quil tenisent dreit justise,
E enhauceasent seinte eglise.
Dunc se met en mer, se senturne,
Dekes Sessoyne, ne sujourne.
Li reis, qui son cosin esteit,
Bel e hautement le resceit.

¹ MS. milt.

- Mult se pena de li joir,
470 E richement le fist servir,
Des brauns e de veneysuns,
E des cyngnes, e des pouns,
De vessel de or e de argent,
De vyn de claree e de pyement.
Servir le fait de vint dancals,
Des plus nobles e des plus bels,
E qui mielz sunt en parente,
E des plus halz de son regne.
Son fiz demene fist li reis
480 Le rei Offe servir a deis,
E Edmund nomerent le meschyn,
Mult par esteit beals de grant fyn ;
Suz ciel nad homme vivant,
Ki unke veit plus bel enfant.
E od les bealtes quil aveit,
Sur tut rien curteis esteit,
E pleyn de grant enseignement.
Suz ciel nad afaitement
Dunt il ne fut endoctrine ;
490 De tute genz esteit ame ;
E si out une rien en sei,
Dieu e cristiente e fey
Ama sur tutes autres riens ;
Tant out en li bounte e biens,
Ke fort me serreit le retreire.
Tant fu estre ceo de bon eire,
Quil ama tute bone gent,
E tute gent li ensement.

Li enfant mult se penout,
500 Sa cure il mist de tant quil pout,
De servir le rei peleryn ;
Mult le servit bel le meschin.
Li rei Offe mult ayme e prise
Edmund lenfant e son servise,
Ses paroles e son semblant,
E sa bealte que tant ert grant.
Sovent recorde en son purpense ;
Si se mervaille de son sens,
E ke enfant de si tendre age
510 Est si pruz, si cointe, si sage,
E ke servir vit le danzel
Tant asenement e bel.
Mult recorda ses fez, ses diz,
Si desira quil fust son fiz.

Kant le rei Offe out sujourne
En Sessoyne a sa volente,
Son eire volt tenir avant,
Ke mult esteit e long e grant.
Cunge ad demande al rey,
520 E as barunes quil out od sey,
E cels deprient Dieu le grant,
Pitousement en plurant,
Que Dampne Dieus par son plaisir
Li doyne salve veie tenir,
E saf venir e saf aler,
E en son pays retourner.
Le enfant Edmund tendrement
Plure pur Offe son parent ;

Q

Li rei Offe, qui sen veit,
530 Pitie en ad e grant doel fait.
E li rei Offe a sey le apele,
De ses mayns terst sa face bele,
Si li dist ; Beu fiz Edmund,
Dieus bone cresance vous doynd ;
Devant els trestuz lenbrascea,
E sovent fez le beisa.
De son dei treist un anel de or ;
La pierre valust grant tresor ;
Il tendi avant cel anel,
540 Si lad done al damisel
E dist, Beal fiz, cest doun tenez,
Pur la moy amur le gardez.
Cest doun vus doygne en remembrance,
Entre nus deus seit conuissance
De parente, de cusinage,
E que nus sumes de un linyage ;
E ke vus remembrez de mey
Par cest anel de nostre dey.
Graces e grant merci vus rent.
550 De Dampne Dieu omnipotent,
Del bel service e del bel het,
E del honur que me avez fet.
Jeo vus estui mult greniur doun,
En curage e entenciun,
Si ariere puse repairer ;
Durray vus paternel louwer,
Si nostre seint pere Jhesu
Ad mon repairer purveu.

Kant lenfant le anel resceust,
560 Mult li mercie, cum il dust.
Son pere charnel quil ceo vit
Enbrancha sey, e si sen rit ;
Par geu dist li, en gabant,
Ay ! ore, Edmund, bien est atant,
Pur pierre me avez deguerpi,
E le rey Offe avez chosi.
Il vus gard des ore en avant,
Cum pere doit fere enfant.
E vus le servez, matyn e seyr,
570 Cum pere a vostre poeir.
Ne ai son de nurer pur le myen
Aultri enfant ; ceo sachez bien.

Offe le rei mult se delite
De la parole quil ad dite ;
Lenfant tost apellast
A sey, sil prist, e enbrasceast ;
Si treit hors de sa almonere
Un anel de or od une pierre,
Ke mult ert riche de grant fin,
580 A Edmund le mustra, son cosin.
Le anel li ad Offe mustre,
Quil resceust kant il fu curune
Del evesque quil benesqui,
E de son ceptre le seisi.
Edmund fiz, fist il, esgardez
Cest anel, e bien le avisez,
E le semblant e la feiture,
Cum il est fet e en quele mesure,

Ke bien conustre le puissez
590 E ke vus bien le conoissez.
Kar si jeo mester de vus ay,
Ces enseignes vous trametteray,
Ke facez mon comandement,
Si ne vus retreiez nient ;
Tut le feites, de chief en chief,
Kankes vus manderay par brief.
Le anel gardez par dreit fey,
Si vus ja vivez plus de mey.
Beals fiz chers, des ore en avant,
600 Vus amerey cum mon enfant,
E durrey vostre gareysun,
Si puse aver possessiun.
Li enfant mult le mercie,
Li rey Offe od sa cumpanie ;
Fist trusser ses sumers an eire,
Cunge ad pris, si tint son eire.
Li rei de Sessoine le conveie
Dedenz Sessoyne bien grant veie ;
A Dampne Dieu lad comande,
610 Si sen est atant returne.
Offe li reis il e sa gent,
Of mult noble aparailement,
Od bele gent, od grant aver,
E ere e chemin, e matin e seir,
Tant se pena li ber derrer,
Ke par tere, ke par mer,
Ke en Jerusalem est venuz,
Tut sein, tut halegre, tut druy ;

Kil unkes homme ne perdy,
620 Ne cumpaynun, la Dieu mercy.
Offe od granz afflictions
Fist almoynes e urisuns,
Cum pelerin fin e pius,
As eglises e as seinz lius,
Ou Jhesu Crist fu mort e vifs,
E al sepulcre ou il fu mia
Son offerende fu riche e real,
E al Temple e al Hospital,
A chapels e a musters,
630 Ou boysoyne esteit e mestiers,
A pelerins, a boseynuses,
Ki de aver erent suffreituses.
Fist li rei Offe tant doner,
Ken lur pais porent realer.
Kant li reis out par tut oure,
E en tuz les bons lius este,
Ne voleit plus tenir sujour,
Vers son pais prist le retour.
Il erra tant par ses journez,
640 Ke par chimins, ke par estrez,
Ke al brace seint Jorge vynt tut dreit,
Kar par iluc son chemin esteit.
Iluc li prist maladie si grant,
Si angususe e si pesant,
Kil ne put avant errer,
Iluc li estuet sujourner.
Veirs est, kum dit en lescription,
Sage est ki en Dieu mette sa cure,

Ki en son quer ad conferme
650 Fey, esperance, e charite.
Par tut put aler asez seur,
Sil murt, si murge a bon eur,
Kar en lomme nest pas sa veie,
Ainz est en Dieu qui le conveie.
Homme soleit dire e sovent avent,
Til vait hors qui ne pas revent ;
Si fu de cest rei peleryn,
Ki Dampne Dieu prist en chemin
De Jerusalem, ou Jhesu Crist
660 Ala, marcha, e nus conquist.
Dieus vit que cesti fu fet,
De trestuz ses pechez net,
E aveit ces treis en sey,
Charite, esperance, e fey.
Pur ceo le vult Dieus a sei prendre,
E en sa glorie seinement rendre.
Li rei Offe fu malades fort,
Nul ne le put garir del mort,
Fors Dieus, quad tuz a gouverner ;
670 Li reys fist ses privez mander,
E il i vyndrent errantement,
Pur lur segnur triste e dolent.
Segnurs, fist il, mes chers amys,
Le mal est fort dunt jeo languis.
Ne vey autre rien fors la morte,
Envers ki ne est nul resorte.
Mult me avez lealment servi,
E bien e bel, entresque ci ;

E uncore ay mester mult grant,
680 Ke vus me reservez avant,
E vos feyes me afeyerez,
Ke mon comandement ferez.
Veez vus, segnurs, cest anel,
Ke jeo mustray al damisel,
A Edmund, le fiz mon cosin,
Kant cea endroit pris le chemin
Par Sessoyne, ou jeo sujournay,
Ou cest anel li mustray.
De cest breif li freez present,
690 E de cest anel ensement ;
Dites li ke saluz li mand,
E par cest anel li comand
Trestut mon regne a gouverner,
En Estangle ultre la mer.
Quil seit sire e prince e rey,
E quil prie pur l'alme de mey.
Segnurs, sovent avez veu,
Si en estes aparceu,
Kant en un realme ad segnur,
700 Ki par justice e par amur
La gent gouverne sagement,
Kil nes blesme de neient,
Sil en cel poynt murt e dechiet
Ne quidez vus qual poeple griet ;
Si est il fait li reis de mey,
Ki jesque ci ay este rey
De Estangle ; ore ne puse avant,
Meis a Dampne Dieu la comant.

Bel les ai garde cea en ariere,
710 E bien en dreiture pleniére,
Ke unkes par ma coueitise,
Ne par sufreite de justise,
Ne perdi nul rien de son dreit,
Dampne Dieu mercie en seit.
Meis ore avereit grant mestier
De sage rey e bon justiser,
Ki pais e justise maintinge,
E en amour le poeple teinge.
Jeo ne sai nul plus acceptable,
720 Ne al poeple plus covenable,
Kant jeo murge e trei a ma fin,
Ke Edmund, le fiz mon cusin.
Beal est de cors, dulce en saver,
Pruz e fort e de grant poer,
E de reale lyniage est nez.
Par Sessoyne vus en irrez
Sanz feyntise tut estrus,
Le amenez en Estangle od vus.
E ceo me afierez vus ore bien,
730 Que vus pur aver ne pur rien
Ne serrez en lui ne en estal
Ou ja li mien ceptre real
Seit otrie ou seit done
Si la noun ou lay comande.
Le rei prist de eus le serement,
E les chargea parfundement ;
A Dieu apres les comanda,
E sa benesciun les dona.

Kant le rei aveit fet sa devise,
740 E des prelates de seinte eglise
Aveit resceu confessiun,
E de tuz ses pechez pardun,
Unkes pus a els ne parla mot
Li rey sa bouche e ses oilz clot.
Entre lur mains iluc fini,
E lalme del cors dunc parti.
Unkes enemî nout pussance,
Kar il murust en tele creance,
Quil out ces treis choses en sey,
750 Charite, esperance, e fey.
De Jhesu Crist traist a fin
Rey enoynt e umble pelrin ;
Angels de ciel qui prez i erent
En parais lalme porterent.
Cesti Offe dunt jeo vus di,
Ki si seintement fini,
E de sa vie traist al fin,
En lerre Dieu e en le chimin,
Ne fus pas Offe lenemis,
760 Le rei, le tirant des Marchis,
Ki seint Ayelbriet le barun
Trai cum encriesme felun,
E en son prisun fist gisir,
E meyte peyne fist souffrir,
E cruelement son cors pena,
E a la parfin decola.
Un autre Offe encore i aveit,
De Sessoyne qui rei esteit ;

- Les Sessoyneis orientals
770 Governa cum bon vassals.
Cil fu prodomme e justisers
E sage rei e dreiturels ;
Si ama Dieu e verite,
E mainteint la cristiente.
Kil ama Dieu bien i parut,
Devant ceo quil morut,
Par la grace seint espirit,
Sicum Dieus rova en lescriit.
Deguerpi cil femme e enfanz,
780 Fiz e filles, petiz e granz,
E son pais e son regne,
E ses hommes e son barne :
Si prist lescrep e le burdun,
Trestut a pe cum poun.
En pelrinage sen veit,
Vers seint Pere a Rome dreit,
A lapostoile Costentin.
De li se fist le pelerin
Tundre, e feire moigne profes,
790 Si servit Dieu tuz jurs apres.
E en labit longment vesqui,
E en labit sa vie fini.
Lalme de li, ceo dit lestorie,
Resceut Dieus en sa glorie.
De cil Offe dunt jeo di ci,
Ne de cil Offe seint Ayelbrict trai,
Ne fu pas Offe li palmiers,
Li seint homme e li dreiturers,

Ki del sepulcre repeirant
800 Resceut maladie si grant,
Quil morust en cele manere
Cum jeo vus ay dit cea en arere.
Cil fut un de reys seneghan,
Ki dedenz ceissant e un an
Regnerent devant seint Edmund.
Le dareyn dels, e le secund
De seint Edmund le bon barun,
Fu cesti Offe sanz mesprisun,
Qui al brace seint Jorge fu mort,
810 Dunt grant damage fu e fort ;
De ki mort sa gent funt tel doel,
Morz volient estre a lur voel.
Mult demenerent grant dolor
Les genz Offe pur lur segnur,
Li seneschal, li buteilier,
Li chamberleng, li despenser,
Usser, cou, e li serjant,
Pover, riche, petit e grant,
Plurent, crient, e tel doel funt,
820 Il nad si dure homme en cest mund,
Qui veist lur contenement,
Ke nust tendrur e marrement.
Kant unt lur grant doel demene,
E lur segnur unt entere,
Vers lur pais la veie tienent,
E parmi Sessoyne sen viennent.
Al rey de Sessoyne viennent dreit,
Qui cosin lur segnur esteit.

Si li cunterent la dolor,
830 E la perde de lur segnur.
Kant il oy, mult li desplout,
Unkes mes si grant doel ne out.
Li rei en une chambre entra,
E son cosin mult regreta ;
Plure, wayment, e tel doel fet,
Ke nel poeit nul mettre en het.
En la chambre treis jours estut,
Quil unkes ne mangea ne but,
Ne ne fina de doluser,
840 Ne ne vout a homme parler.
Kant Edmund oy la novele
Del rei Offe, ne li fut bele,
Einz fist lenfant doel si grant,
Unkes ne veistes enfant,
Qui greindre doel ne marrement
Ust pur cosin ne parent.
Li seneschal Offe le rey,
Ki les genz Offe mene o sey,
A la chambre le rey senturne,
850 Pur son segnur e trist e murne.
Deus compaynuns od sey mene,
De sa compaynie demeyne ;
De plus haulz e de plus vailanz,
De plus sages, de mielz sachanz.
A la chambre le rei entrerent,
E dulcement le conforterent ;
Sir, funt il, laissez ester,
Cessez de vostre doluser, .

- Kar bien savez que tuz murrum
860 E eschaper ne purrum.
Ja par plure ne par doluserie
Ne recoversa mort la vie,
Meis tant i put homme gaynier,
Les oilz e le cors enpirer.
Kant nul ni poet el conquerer,
Bien devez lesser le plurer,
E recoverer vostre confort,
E feire bien pur lalme al mort.
Nus avum en a conseilier,
870 Que doluser e waymenter.
Rey, nus sumes tut a estrus,
Pur grant chose venuz a vus ;
Kar rey Offe, tant cum il jut
En maladie dunt apres murut,
Kant il senti quil dut murir,
Tuz nus fist devant sei venir,
E si nus fist sur seinz jurer,
E nos feyes nus fist afier,
Que nus tuz estrusement
880 Ferum son comandement.
Pus nus comencea a retreire
De vostre lin, de vostre eyre ;
Kant il out longment retraiz
Vos bons overs e vos feiz,
Si parla de Edmund vostre fiz,
Cum il est beals e escheviz,
Sage e pruz, dulce e membrez,
Curteis, ensegne, e senez.

Pus hosta le anel de son dey,
890 Quil resceust kant il fu fet rey,
Le anel qua vostre fiz mustra,
Kant de cest pais sen ala
Vers Jerusalem ou nus fumes,
E la grant perde resceumes
De li qui si avum perdu,
Le rey Offe qui prodomme fu.
Il nus comanda finement
Que nus par icel serement,
Kil devant li nus fist jurer,
900 A mielz quil sout deviser,
Sur les relikes vertuuses
Seintes, riches, e pretiuses,
A mielz quil nus sout escharir,
E la parole mielz furnir,
Ke par cest anel que tenum,
E que nus ici vus musterum,
Seysisum Edmund vostre fiz
Del realme e des apentiz
De Estangle e de tut le pays,
910 Cum il mielz lout quant il fu vifs ;
Son ceptre e sa corune de or,
Sa veissele e tut son treissor.
Nus ad reys Offe comande,
Que a vostre fiz seit tut livre.
Uncore i ad en le serement,
E en fiances ensement,
Que ne poeum pas sujourner,
Ne en cest pais demurer,

Fors soulement une quinzeyne ;
920 E dedenz cel terme demeyne
Devum vostre fiz mettre en mer,
E en Estangle od nus amener.
Si vent nostre eire ne deslaie,
De tant nus porta il manaie.
Li reis responst, Seneschal mestre,
Ceo ke vus dites ne put estre.
Kar nel otreiereie mye
De Edmund mon fiz la departie
Pur tut laveir, ceo est la summe,
930 Kest de Sessoyne deske a Rumme.
Ne otrieray le sevrer,
Ne si feiterement mener
Si loinz de moy, mon fiz Edmund ;
Nel ferey pur tout le mound.
Mult fu prodomme le seneschal,
Sage, queinte, e bon vassal :
Rei, fet il, ne ce pas mervayle,
Mais pernez vus autre consayle,
Si vus le devez retenir
940 Kil ne deyve of nus venir.
Par agarde de cristiente,
Si homme la garde en lealte,
Bien il deit venir, sir rey,
E vus say bien dire pur quey :
Pur sauver nostre serement,
E nos fiances ensement,
Ke meymes pur li en gage.
Grant doel sereit e grant damage,

- Ke tanz e de tele parente,
950 Cum nus sumes, susum dampne,
Pur le venir e pur le aler
Dun enfant jesque ultre mer.
E revenist quant il voldreit ;
Ja nul homme nel cuntre estereit,
Quil ne pust revenir
Kant il voldra a son pleyisir.
Li reis est en plusurs purpens,
Si se purpense en plusurs sens.
Si les dit estruseement.
960 Ke lenfant ne amenerunt nient.
E nepurkant a la parfin
De la chambre ist le chief enclin.
En la sale vient erraument,
Si se est asis entre sa gent ;
Ses ercevesques ad mandez,
Ses evesques e ses abbez,
Cuntes, baruns, e ses princiers,
E vavasours e chivaliers ;
Cunseile les ad demande
970 De ceo que Offe li aveit manda,
La parole les ad mustree,
De chief en chief cum est alee.
Ke li reis Offe son cosin,
Kant il murust e treit al fin,
Par ses consiliers plus privez,
Ki mielz furent de li amez,
Lad de son fiz Edmund requis
Kil seit rei en son pais,

En Est Angle ou il maneit,
980 E dunt il sire e rei esteit.
E li rei Offe a li doune
Son ceptre de or e sa corune,
Son vessel dargent e de or,
E son avoir e son tresor,
E si ad mys tute sa gent,
Par fiance e par serement,
Quil of els le amenerunt
En Est Angle e rei le ferunt.
Uncore i ad es covenances,
990 E serement e enfiances,
Kil ne poent pur nule peyne
Ci sujourner ke un quinzeyne,
Ne sanz mon fiz passer,
Ne ultre cel terme ci ester.
Ceste aventure me ad mande
Offe par sa gent plus privee,
Par ses lettres e par son brief,
Ke lire ai fait de chief en chief,
E par enseignes del anel
1000 Kil mustra al enfant bel,
Kant de li sen ala
De cest pais ou sujourna.
Ore mestoet vif conseile aver
De mon fiz fere remaneir,
E de ces messagers sauver
Des fiances e del vouer.
Segnurs, pur Dieu ore en pensez,
Ki les honurs de mey tenez,

R

De ceste chose traire a chief ;
1010 Me donez vif conseil e bref.
Des ordenez tut li plus sage,
Li plus senez, de greinur age,
Ki plus out oy e veu,
Unt al rey dist e respundu :
Sir reis amis, entendez,
Ki vif conseil nus demandez.
Kant sur nus est le conseil mys,
Nus vus dirrum nostre avys.
Offert vus ad mult grant amur
1020 Offe li reis e grant honur,
Kant Edmund vostre fiz fet heire
De son realme e son avoir,
Dunt sire fu, quant il fu vifs,
E en cest secle poestifs,
Le realme hautement doune
A vostre fiz e labandoune,
Par ses conseillers plus privez,
Ki plus erent de li amez,
E ki plus sunt poestis
1030 En le realme e en le pais ;
E ki tut unt la segaurie,
E les fermetez en baylie.
Grant lealte les fist feire,
Kant par ci feseient lur repaire ;
Fey, lealte, e grant amur
Unt porte vers lur segnur.
Fetes, reis, ceo ke vus dirrum ;
Ja ne vus forconseilerum.

Treis bons-niefs comandez quere,
1040 Les plus riches de vostre tere ;
Si fetes mettre sanz faile
Asez guarisun e vitaille,
E mult seient bien ustilez,
E richement aparaylez.
Si mettez, pur les niefs duire,
E bien e sauvement conduire,
Mariners bons, queintes e sages,
Ke tuz conusent les rivages,
E de la mer seient apris,
1050 Desque en Est Angle le pais.
Si les donez mult largement
Riches dras, e or e argent ;
Si fetes liverer as vassals
Beles armes e bons chivals ;
E vostre fiz les comandez,
E lurs seremenz en pernez,
Ke lealment li servirunt,
E sauvement le garderunt,
En bois, en plains, e enz e hors,
1060 Cum memes vostre cors.
E vint chivalers eslisez,
Des meliurs e des plus presez,
De la mesnye Offe le rey,
Ki pur tun fiz viennent a tey ;
Kant ces vint averez esliz,
Si les comandez vostre fiz ;
Liverez les lune nief de treys,
En autres deus seient lur herneys.

Si sen algent, bald e seur,
1070 Dreit en Est Angle a beneur.
Si seit vostre fiz rei de la,
E vus rei e sire de cea.
Vos regnes aiez en comune ;
Mielz valent deus realmes que une.
Son pere estes ; il vostre fiz ;
Ne poez pas estre departiz ;
Nul ne vus put fere luinteins,
Kant tant estes parenz procheins.
Mal ait son cors de tut endreit,
1080 Ki le partir de vus voldreit.
Cil est departi a tut dis,
Ki pere e mere e ses amis
Deguerpist, e sa veie tient,
E james apres ne revient.
Si nest il mye, rei, de vus ;
Assez estes procheins andeus ;
Kar kant vus le voldrez vecir,
E son contement saveir,
Ne vus estut fors passes mer,
1090 E a leysir of li parler.
E kant vus voldrez revenir,
Revenez a vostre pleysir.
E vostre fiz tut ensement
Vus poez venir veir sovent,
Sans grant travaille e sanz ahan,
Une fez ou deus en le an.
Issi sauverez ceste gent
Des fiances, del serement,

- Kil feseient a vostre cosin.
1100 Rei, nus sumes a vus enclin ;
Si sumes tut vostre feeil ;
Ki desdira ices conseil,
Ne ayme pas vus ne vostre fiz.
Tuz se greent, granz e petiz,
E dient tuz, Bien est a feire ;
Ne se deit pas li reis retreire.
Le rei dit que ceo nert ja ;
Ja de li ne departira
Son fiz Edmund, ne tant ne quant,
1110 Kil plus ayme ke rien vivant.
Tant cum li clerc e li lettre,
Li plus sage, li ordene,
Li riche cunte e li barun,
Sunt en cele grant contenciun,
Este vus en la sale atant
Une dame, pruz e vaylant ;
Romeyne fu, de Rome nee,
Seinte dame, sage e senee.
Vedue ert, enpres son segnur,
1120 Si fu donee al Creatur.
Dieus laveit de bien replemie,
Ke meinte bone profetie
Disait la dame, qui pus furent
Trovez veires, cum estre durent.
La dame ert mult aquente al rei,
E al gent que aveit of sei,
En la cite de Rome anceis ;
Kar alez i esteit li reis,

Enceis que Edmund fu engendre,
1130 Son fiz ; i fu le rei ale,
En oreisuns hors de sa tere
Seint Pere de Rome requere.
Kar custume esteit a cel jour
Ke rei, duc, e emperour
Se soleient mettre en le veiage
De seint Pere en pelrinage ;
Ne tienent plait de riche homme,
Ki neust este a Rome.
La bone dame dunt parlum,
1140 E dunt nus parlance feisum,
Aveit a Rome mult servi
Le rei e sa gent autresi ;
E enveye meint bel present,
E faite meint honur sovent ;
E sovent od le rei parlout
Tant cum li reis soggiournout.
Le rei aveit la dame chere
E mult lama de grant manere
Pur son sen e pur son saveir
1150 E pur ceo quele diseit si veir,
De ceo que li reis demandeit ;
Sovent esprove laveit.
Pur le conseil que entrels teneient,
E la priveete quil aveient,
En erent esbay plusurs,
E diseient que ceo ert amurs ;
Mes ceo desdiseit lur curage,
Ke la dame ert de grant age.

Al departir que li reis dut,
1160 E quil vers son pais seesmunt,
De Rome ou out fet son veiage
Pur Dieu en pelrinage,
Si vint la dame al desevrer,
A departir of le rei parler.
Cum la dame entrer deveit
En la chambre ou le rei esteit,
Avis li fut, que une flambe grant,
Cum ceo fut de feu ardant,
Sen issit hors del piz al rei,
1170 Ke tel clarete gettout de sei,
Cum ceo fut reis de soleile,
Kant matin surt en est vermeile.
Avis li fu que le reis se tendi,
Ke hors del piz le rei issi,
Parmy les nues tut defrunt,
Jesqual sovereign ciel amunt.
De cel rai katre rais isseient,
Ke en quatre parz se estendeient ;
Le un amunt vers orient,
1180 E le autre vers occident ;
E le tierce devers medi,
Le quart vers north se estendi.
Li rey les vist, si se esbay,
E la dame tut autresi ;
Nest merveye si se esbaierent,
Kant icel merveye virent.
Meis la dame fu queinte e sage ;
Si fist semblant en son curage,

- Sicum ele nel vit mye.
1190 Kant la clarte fu esvanye,
Li reys od la dame parla,
Conge ad pris, si sen ala.
Pur ceste aventure demeine
Vint la bone dame Romeine
Al rey de Sessoyne en Sessoyne,
Ki entendeit a la bosoyne
Ou sa cure enforeir e greindre
De Edmund son fiz feire remeindre.
Kant la dame fu descendue,
1200 E en la curte al rey veneue,
En la presence le rey sest mise,
E tut droit devant li assise.
Issi ke vnkes ne la salua,
Ne de rien ne la reйна,
Ne bel semblant na li feseit,
Cum a Rome fere soleit.
Li reys la agarde e la cunut ;
Si se merveyle, cum il dut,
Pur quey la dame i fu venue,
1210 E ke ceo deit que ele nel salua,
E pur quei, e ke ceo devait,
Ke si murne chere feseit.
Le rey leve ; si le apella ;
Mult la cheri e honura ;
Si lad de juste li asise,
E mult doucement lad requise,
Kele li die maintenant
Pur quey feseit murne semblant,

E de li se trea ariere.

1220 Sachez, fet il, madame chere,
Ke jeo nay si cher avoir,
Si vus le voldriez avoir,
Ke na vus seit, dame, abandone,
Trestut a vostre volente.

Reis, fet ele, ceo sai jeo bien ;
Meis de tut ceo ni ad rien.

Jeo ne vinch pas en ceste tere
Pur tresor ne pur avoir quere ;
Assez en ay, la Dieu merci ;

1230 Meis, rey, jeo su venue oi,
Numement pur vus veir,
E de vostre oure alques saveir.
Kar autre chose, sir rey,
Quiday en vus ke jeo ne vey.
E vus sai bien dire coment.

A Rome fustes veirement
En urisuns pur Dieu servir,
E vos pechiez espenseir.

Jeo parlai a vus mult sovent,
1240 E conseilai bonement,
De Dieu amer, de Dieu servir,
E sur tut rien obeir.

Kant aler vus en devevez,
Enceis que vus en alisez,
I vinch jeo, reys, a vostre aler
Privement a vus parler.

Sicun jeo en la chambre entrai,
Me fut avys que jeo vei un rai,

- De grant clarte, cler e vermeile,
1250 Cum ceo fut rey de soleile,
Hors de vostre piz, reis, saliir
Amunt al ciel par grant hair.
De cel rai quatre rais eissirent,
Ki en katre parz sespandirent.
A merveyle men esbai,
Kant jeo cele merveile vi ;
E vus, sir rei de Sessoyne,
En uestes pur mey verguyme.
Meis jeo ni fis unke semblant
1260 Ke jeo le vis, tant ne kant.
Mult le ai cele, rei, longment,
Kar jeo quidoue veirement,
E si la veie espermentee,
Ke Dieus, qui est verei clarte,
Verei lumer, e verei solaile,
Par sa grace e par son consaile
Vus muntast en mult grant haltesce,
En grant pussance e en richesce ;
E ke Dieus vus donast tel heir,
1270 Ki par son sen e son saveir
Muntast en si grant poeste,
Ke tut le mound en fut parle ;
E ki cristiente amast,
E maintenist e enhalceast ;
Ou ke Dieus vus donast le doun,
De aler en estrange regioun,
Dount vostre honur fut mielz cruz,
E vostre noun fust plus cremuz.

Le miracle ke nus veymes,
1280 Reys, kant a Rome departimes,
Si est mult grant signifiance
De haltesce e de grant pussance ;
Ou de glorie celestiene,
Ou de grant honur teriene,
Ke devereit avenir pur veir
Ou a vus, reys, ou a vostre heir.
Vus ne savez ke ceo i ert ;
Meis ore vei bien i pert,
Ke vus estes vers Dieu enfrez,
1290 E de mult grant chose forfez.
Kil si vus ad cuilli en he,
Kant vus ad si del tut oste,
Del riche tresor e del doun
De ceste grant demustreisun.
Li reys a la Romeyne entent,
E suspire parfundement,
Devant tute sa gent gehi
Le aventure, e la discoveri.
Cum la dame laveit dit,
1300 Tut issi lout li reis escrit ;
A un evesque bayla lescrit,
E cil de chief en chief le lit ;
En ordre dist, cum veu aveit
La dame ke venue esteit.
Un evesque, pruz e sene,
Sage clerc e bien lettre,
Dit, Oyanz clers e oyanz lays ;
Sir reys, fet il, icest rays,

Ke issit hors de vostre piz,
1310 Ceo est vereyment vostre fiz,
Edmund, qui reys ert del regnee,
Ke rey Offe li ad donee.
A li serra Est-angle enclyn ;
E kant il trerra a sa fin,
La compagne seint Michel
Porterunt salme en ciel,
Od grant lumer, od grant clarte,
Devant Dieu en sa majeste.
E les rays ke de li surderunt,
1320 E par la tere se estenderunt,
Ces ert la bone renomee,
Ke de li ert par tut cunte.
Rey, ne le devez pas cuntredire,
Kant Dieus, li trespentim sire,
Si aperte signifiance
Vus mustra devant la nissance
De vostre fiz ke avez tant cher.
Mult le devez bien otrier
Kil alge en Est-angle el pays,
1330 Si seit reys e poestys.
Li reys forment sescrient en plurs ;
Si les ad dit, Beals chiers segnurs,
Kant Dieu le volt feire, lestuet ;
Kar autrement estre ne puet.
Li reys comanda les nefes quere,
Les meliurs de tute sa tere.
Si fist mettre a grant fusun
Vitayle e asez guarisun,

- E vin e clare e piment,
1340 E vessel de or e de argent ;
Si i fist mettre marinala,
Mult fortes e pruz e bons vassals,
Queintes dewe, e sages en mer,
E ki bien sevent nefes guyer.
E pus eslust vint chivalers
Li reys, de cels quil out plus chers,
E vint chivalers ensement
De la mesnee e de la gent
Offe le rey, ki les tramist,
1350 E ke les seremenz en prist ;
Tant cum il furent, ceo mest avys,
Karant chivalers de pris.
Li reys les dona bels conreiz,
Armes, destrera, e palefreiz,
E or e argent a plente ;
E son fiz les ad comande,
E la plus bele nief de treys ;
En deus fit mettre lur herneys.
Kant il derrer sunt apreste,
1360 Hors del haven si sunt bute ;
Li reys ne fine de plurer,
Kant il les vit en mer entrer.
A Dieu les comande, si les leat,
E en plurant ariere vest.
Kant les treys neifes sunt hor de port,
Lur batel devers le bort
Treistrent en la nef maintenant
Li marinal e li servant.

La nef fu forte e mult bele,
1370 Bien fete, seure e novele,
Ou seint Edmund esteit li ber,
Ki unke mes ne fut en mer.
Li servant e li mariner
En vunt lur cordes adrescier.
Chescun mariner del esneke
Forment le sigle deshaneke,
Lur hobens estreeient vers destre,
Hors lancent lof vers senestre.
La veile treient jesqual hune,
1380 E al vent firent comune.
Le boelin halent al vent,
Ki lore recoilt e supprent.
Kant la nief aveient apreste,
A Dampne Dieu lunt comande.
Pus atturnerent el batel
Li chamberleng al damisel
Un riche lit de noble atour,
Ou il alient lur segnour.
Les chivalers ki en la nief sunt,
1390 Ki gardent lur segnur Edmund,
En le batel sunt entre of li,
Si parolent pur lennui.
As eschesse geuwent e a tables,
Dient respiz, e cuntent fables,
Meis ki kentende al enveiser,
Li ber entent a son sauter,
Ke en Sessoyne avait comence,
Dunt apris avait la meyte.

Le jour siglent a grant dedut ;
1400 Si feseient tute la nut
Lez la costee de Sessoyne ;
Ke la nief guaires ne sesbaine,
Jesqual demain al einz jurnee,
Ke lalbe del jour fu escrevee.
Suple vent unt, mer pleine e bele ;
La nief ne crole ne chancele ;
As marinals enpeise fort,
Kil nunt vent ki plus tost les port.
Le secund jour unt tant sigle,
1410 E la nute a cel estele,
Kal tierz jour unt Frise veue
De loinz, cum ceo fut une neue,
Jesqual quart jour, dun vent de bise,
Siglent la costere de Frise,
Tant quil acostent Houtlande,
Une contree large e grande.
Le quint jour de Houtlande veient
Les granz faleises ki blancheient.
Le sisme jour une contree
1420 Acostient que est grande e lee ;
Selande la apelent la gent ;
Al honur de Flandres apent.
Dunc lur surt un vent devers tere,
Si les feseit damage e guere.
Kar tant furent loinz en la mer,
Kil ne porent a port aler.
La mesnee en est malbailie,
Kar douce ewe lur ert failie.

1430 Mult en sufrirent grant hachie,
Les esquiers e la mesnee
Des deus niefes ke vindrent deriere,
Ki ensewirent la primiere.

Lenfant oy la novele
Edmund ; sachez, ne li fu bele.
Sur ses peiz en estant sest mys,
Vers orient turna sun vys,
Dieu reclama devoutement
Kil ait pite de sa gent.
A genuilluns sest acute,
1440 E Dampne Dieu ad reclame,
Kil tel ore lur tramette
Ki a sauve porte les mette.
Oyez la primere vertu,
Ke Dampne Dieu fit pur son dra
Seint Edmund, sicum il oura,
E de fin quer Dieu reclama.
Il ne aveit mye pas oure,
Kil nunt vent a volente ;
Un vent surst devers miedi,
1450 Bien aspre ki les acoilli,
Ki en la veille e en lur tref
Fiert ; si enpeint avant la nief.
Les mariners en sunt mult liee,
Lur lof unt enz mult tost lancia,
E alaschent lur boelins,
E estreinent lur holgurdina.
Aspre est le vent ; li sigle i egier
Unt, ne les covint haneker.

- Bon vent aveient e bien portant,
1460 Tut le jour siglent a talant,
E tute la nute al serin,
Desque il ajourna lendemain.
Se tindrent a la halte mer ;
Le soleil lieve e halt e cler ;
Bels est le jour, li tens seriz,
Le vent de su lur est failliz,
Kil ne porent aler avant,
Ainz vunt en halt mer wacrant.
E kant vynt entre tirce e prime,
1470 Ke le soleil abate la rime,
Dunc lur surst devers orient
Un dulces ore, un suple vent,
Ou il se sunt longes tenu,
Tant quil unt choisi e veu,
E virent clerement la sen
Des granz faleises devers Len ;
Cele parte siglent a espleit,
Tant cum la nief aler poeit.
Tant unt sigle, tant unt nage,
1480 Ke a la tere sunt aprochie.
Pus unt hors lance lur batel,
A tere mistrent le dancel,
Edmund, lur naturel segnur
Par la grace del Creatur,
Ke Dieu clayme en la prophetie,
Sicum nus mustre la clergie,
Oysel volant del orient,
E de luin homme a son talent.

Les nefes tutes treis arivees,
1490 Sunt a la tere enancrees,
A mesmes dun petit terel,
A merveile aate e bele,
Ki a cel tens esteit clame,
E ki uncore est apelle,
Maydenesboure en engleis,
E chambre as pucels en franceis.
E la vile de li ad noun,
En engleis Hunstanestun
E en franceis est apelee

1500 La vile de pierre melee.
Quant seint Edmund fu venuz
A tere, e hors del nief eissuz,
En une planesce acceptable,
E bele e verte e delitable,
De liez la mer, en oreisuns
Chey li ber a genulliuns ;
E preia Dieu pitusement
Pur le pais e pur la gent.
La mustra Dieu quil aveit chere
1510 E sa oreisun e sa priere,
Kar la vertu de sa oreisun
Mustre le pais environ,
Ka Hunstanestun apent.
Ceo seivent bien tut la gent,
Ke la tere est plus gaynable,
E de tuz biens plus fusunable
En est, e gette meldres blez,
Ke nule autre tere de leez.

Kant seint Edmund out oure,
1520 E Dampne Dieu out reclame,
Ses hommes li ameinent devant
Un palefrey, sueif, amblant,
Sicum li ber munter deveit.
Vers occident garde e veit,
E veit hors de la tere saillir
Dulce funteines par air,
Od dulce curs, od clere gravele,
Nul ne poeit choisir la plus bele.
Cuntrecurent vers la mer,
1530 Semblant funt de li welcomer.
Del liu dunt les russels sunt surs
Jesquen la salse funt lur curs,
E isnelement se destendent,
Od duz murmure en mer descendent.
Mult par sunt bones les funtaynes,
Pur beyvre nad suz ciel si seines.
E meint homme jesqua cest jour
En garist de meint dolor,
De meint grant enfermete,
1540 En unt plusurs eu sante.
E kant li ber fu corune
E il fu fet reys del regne,
Le liu out chier, si lama tant,
Kil fist feire maintenant
Une sale riche e real,
Grant e noble e emperial;
E une mult riche chapele,
Halte e avenant e bele,

Ou li seint reys soleit aourer,
1550 Kant il soleit sujourner.
 E pus apres, quant il rey fu,
 E le realme aveit resceu,
 Le liu ama, si out mult cher
 Sovent i soleit repairer ;
 Mult il soleit venir sovent,
 E soujourner priveement.
 Les baruns ki od lenfant esteient,
 E ki en lur garde aveient,
 Le amenerent tut sagement.
1560 Sanz noise e sanz seu de gent,
 A une cite noble e grant,
 Ke en cel tens ert riche e vailant,
 E de mult noble renomee ;
 Atleburg esteit apelee.
 La cite Atle lapela,
 Atle li reis ki la funda.
 Uncore i ad vile champestre,
 A cels de Mortimer soleit estre.
 En cele cite miest en fin
1570 Edmund tut un an enterin,
 E son salter il paraprist,
 Par le grace Jhesu Crist,
 Ken Sessoyne aveit comence,
 Dunt apri averit la meyte,
 E autre sen apri apres,
 Dunt sage fu a tut dismes.
 Ceo li fist Dieus par sa puissance,
 E par sa dulce purveance ;

- E kant le regne out en sa main,
1580 Al gouverner fu plus certain.
Ceo est grant sen e curteisie,
Kant prince ou rey entent clergie ;
Al regne gouverner li valt,
Kar grant le sen des autres falt
Par le clergie quest aguwe.
Ad tost sen e reisun suwe ;
Kant les autres ni veient goutte,
La clergie le sen i boute.
Edmund, cum jeo ai desus dit,
1590 Sujurne en Atleburg la cizt.
Pur ceo le feseient sujurner
En Atleburg, e demurer,
Cels quil en pais mene lorent ;
Kar il soucherent bien e sorent,
Ke li barun plus poestis,
E li plus riche del pais,
Kant il de la morte Offe oyreient,
Pur le realme Offe mesuvereient.
Si feseient tut li barun,
1600 E furent en grant contenciun ;
Chescun dels voleit endreit sey
De la tere estre sire e rey.
Lestreif dura un an enter ;
Pur poi ne surst grant encumbrier ;
Kar les teres ultremarines,
Ka cel pais erent veysines,
Ke homme clayme collaterals,
Les promistrent gueres e mals,

Kil les vendreient assaillir,
1610 Sil ne volsissent obeir
A els, e rendre les treu.
Kant la tere e le pais feu
Si longment sanz chief segnur,
Le poeple en est en grant errur,
En grant crieme, en grant turment,
E doutent que foreyne gent
Viengent sur els, si les asaile,
Si envers els pernent bataille,
Sanz cheveteyn e sanz segnur,
1620 Ki les maynting en estur.
Kant il nunt ki les mayntinge,
Si crement ke les mesavienge.
Cunseil unt demande e quis
De tuz les sages del pais.
A Castre funt lur assemble,
Ke dunc ert de grant renomee.
Tuz les plus sages del regnee,
E li evesque e li abe,
Li sage cunte, e li barun,
1630 Furent a cele electiun.
Entrels cunseil unt demande,
De ki rey ferunt del regnee.
Li seneschal lieve en estant,
Ki mult sages ert e valiant ;
Ki a la mort fu Offe le rey,
E ki Edmund amena od sey.
Segnurs, fet il, ore escutez ;
Ke mestier de conseil en avez,

A rey eslire e segnour,
1640 Ki le pais quart a honour,
E al poeple seit acceptable,
E sage duitre e covenable
Acheisun ne reisun ne vey,
Ke meis puissez estre sanz rey.
E kant rey vus estuet aver,
Errer vus estuet par saver,
De tel eslire, de tel choysir,
Ki en pes vus puse maintenir,
E dreit e justice garder,
1650 E la tere en pes gouverner.
Mult vus fu li reys Offe amys,
E vus ama tant cum fu vifs.
Sage rey fut e bon justiser,
E seintment murust ultre mer.
Jeo fu of li quant il morust ;
Mult mi peisa ke morir dust.
Devant ceo ke la morte li prist,
Par fey e par serement me mist,
E mey e tute sa autre gent
1660 Mist par fey e par serement,
Ke quant nus returnerum,
Par Sessoyne nus realisum,
Ou li reys e nus sujournames,
Kant a Jerusalem alames,
Od le rey son cosin germeyn,
Qui tute Sessoyne ad suz sa mayn ;
E ke nus menisum defrunt
Le fiz le rey, lenfant Edmund,

Quen Est-Angle en feisum rey ;
1670 Ceo nus fist il plever par fey.
Offe seisi le damisel
En cest realme par son anel,
Dunt il fu fet rey e sacre,
Kant il fu premier corune,
E nus, segnura, par la venymes ;
Tant parlames e tant feismes,
Ke kant nus de iluc alames,
En ceste tere lenfant menames.
Pur quey le vus celerum ?
1680 A grant peyne conquis le avum,
Kant le rei Offe ad le regnee
A Edmund son cosin devise,
Par nus qui le fiz en plevimes,
E le serement en fesimes.
Ki dirra le dreit e le veir,
Bien il deit estre e rei e heir.
E pur ceo e pur autre rien,
Dunt jeo vus mustreray tres bien
Le devez choisir e eslire,
1690 Kil seit de vus e rei e sira.
Edmund est mult de halt parage,
E ne est de real liniage ;
E la bealte de li est si grant,
Ke en mund nad si bel enfant.
E od la grant bealte de li
Vnkes, puis ke jeo ne fui,
Ne vi plus sage creature
De sen, de reisun, de mesure,

- Ne qui plus tost seust juger
1700 Une reison, ne desreisonier.
Segnurs, mult est lenfant Edmund
De acue sen e de parfunt
E kant il est cosin le rey
Offe, ki si nus mist par fey
Kil seit reys de cest pais,
Jeo vus di bien le mien avis.
Qui ceste chose volt desdire,
Quil ne seit e rei e sire
De cest pais, de cest regnee,
1710 Segnurs, sachez en verite
Ke nus enfin destrut serrum,
E le realme perderum.
Kar si son pere, en Sessoyne
Ki rey est, oyt la grant vergoyne,
Que vus lavez si refuse,
Bien le di par ma lealte,
Of mult grant gent sur nus vendra,
E la tere e nus destruera.
Kant il aveit dit e parle,
1720 E tut son avis mustre,
Levesque de Norwiz parla,
E tut le poeple lescuta :
Segnurs, fet il, ore escutez,
Si jeo di bien, sil grantez.
Mult ad oure li seneschal,
Cum sage homme e cum leal,
Cum prodomme, cum sene,
Quant a nus ad le dreit heir mene

De ceste nostre regiun,
1730 Dunt vus estes en contenciun.
Ne entent ne sey plus dreit heir,
Qui mielz deyve le regne avoir,
Ke Edmund lenfant, qui cist message
Vnt amene pur le heritage,
Fiz de rei est de halt gent,
Cosin Offe e prochein parent,
Le rey qui, devant quil fini,
De cest realme le seysi
Par son anel, que a li tramist,
1740 Heir e rey e segnur le fist,
E od tut ceo mist ceste gent,
E par fey e par serement,
Ki en cest pais le amenerent,
E qui le message apporterent.
Mult les devum saver bon gre,
Quant nus unt le dreit heir mene.
Jeo vus lo qui tuz i alez,
E mult tost a rei le levez.
Tuz se grent, grant e petit,
1750 Mult par ad levesque bien dit.
Dunc se levent tute la gent,
Riche, povre, comunament,
A une voyce e a un cri,
En un voler sunt parmi,
En une mesme volente,
Cum Dieu les out espire.
A Atleburg en vunt tut dreit,
Ou lenfant Edmund esteit

Si lunt a Bures la cite
1760 Mult honorablement mene ;
Iluc le feseient coruner,
E haltement a rey sacrer,
Del evesque, qui Hubert out noun ;
Qui par mult grant devociun
Fist le servise e la feste
Mult haltement, ceo dist la geste.
Bures esteit dunc cite,
En cel tens de antiquite,
De grant honor, de grant noblesce,
1770 E cite de mult grant haltesce ;
Kar la soleit homme coruner
Les reys, enoyndre, e sacrer,
Qui d'Estangle furent eslit ;
Tele dignete aveit la cit
De Bures, que uncore est asise,
Mult bien e de mult bele guyse,
De sur une euwe redde e pure
Que la gent apelent le Sture ;
Marche est e devise certeyne
1780 Entre Estsex e Suthfolc demeyne.
Ceste grant chose fu parfaite,
E parfurnie, e a chief treite,
Dunt ieo vus ay ici cunte,
Le jour de la nativite
Del rey des reis, qui tutes choses
Ad en sa poesce encloses,
Qui les regiuns done e tolt,
E les despent la ou il volt.

Kant Edmund li seint ber,
1790 Dunt avant vus volum mustrer,
Fu faite cheveteyn e segnur,
E rey de cel grant honour,
Sapience li fu vaysine,
Ke lenseigne, aprent, e doctrine,
E plus e plus i met le sens
En son quer e en son purpens ;
Cum en Dieu se deit contenir,
E coment la gent maintenir,
E cum grant chose ad conquise,
1800 E cum grant feissance enprise,
E cum grant fes ad sur sey,
Cil qui de tere est prince e rei ;
De tut ceo purvit la reisun,
La mesure e la mesprisiun,
Par le conseil de le mestresce
Sapience, que est furmeresce
De tutes les choses del mund,
Ke faites e creez sont,
Omnicreatricem la clayment
1810 Tuz cels qui mesure e droit ayment.
Li ber seint Edmund sa doctrine,
Ke treit bien, e sa discipline,
Sa simplesce ert tant enterine,
Dulce, amyable, e columbine,
A sa fierte si atempree,
E de tut si amesuree.
Columb sanz fel vers ses amys
Esteit, e vers ses enemys

E veziez plus que draguns
1820 Esteit, plus fiers que nuls leouns ;
E contre pensez de purpens,
E quancquil diseit esteit sans.
Tant par ert e ferme e estable
En mesure, que unkes diable
Par engin ne purreit fere
De droit de reisun retraire ;
Ne malengin par coveityse
Quil se treisist de justise ;
Nul purreit uno par nul arveire,
1830 Par douns ne promesses deceyvra.
E la chose quil ne saveit,
Entendantmant enquereit.
La real voie issi erra,
Quil unkes hors ne ala ;
Ne trop a destre enhalceant,
Ne trop a senestre apuiant,
A vices ne a iniquite
Del humayne fragilite.
Issi par reisun e dreiture,
1840 Lestreite lyne de mesure,
Tant que ultre ne passa vers destre,
Ne hors nala devers senestre.
Qui hors de cele lyne va,
Reisun, droit ne mesure na.
As vedues e as orfanyns
Fu pere puis enteryns,
Franc e larges as bosoynus,
As povres e as sufreytus.

Tuz jours recorde en son corage
1850 Le dit ke jadis dit un sage,
Estable te unt rei e princier,
Ne te voyle trop enhaucier,
Meis tel seies entre ta gent,
Sicum un dels comunalment.
Issi fu seint Edmund a suens,
Franc deboneire e simple e bons.
E pur ceo quil de cels esteit,
Dunt lapostle nus amenteit,
Nus sumes a Dieu bon odor
1860 En tuz lius, e bone douceur
En cels qui perisent defrunt,
E en icels qui salfre sunt,
Cum par tut flaire le flairur
De Dieu e de sa dulce odor,
Ceo est la bone renume
De vie honeste demustree,
Qui esclerzist tuz jurs apres,
En bone fame loinz e pres.
Si fu de la vie al barun,
1870 Seint Edmund, dunt nus ci parlum.
Ceo dit seint Augustin le grant,
Vus qui amastes le bien feisant,
Vus vesquistes sanz nul retur,
En Dieu e en sa dulce odor ;
E par icel odor demeyne,
Remort celi qui trop se peyne
De envie aver sur tute rien,
Vers celi qui tuz jours fet bien.

- De tels envius a estrus
1880 Fu Lothebroc li envius,
Qui mult fu riches de grant fin,
Meis trop esteit felun veisin.
Kar fel esteit vers ses procheins,
E mult cruel vers les lonteins.
Gopil a tuz vers ses parenz,
E enemî a tutes genz.
Lothebroc soune en engleis,
Ruisel hainus en franceis.
Vereyment hainus esteit,
1890 Il e ceo que de li surdeit.
Kar il aveit treis fiz feluns,
E si vus dirrai bien lur nuns.
Yngar aveit a nun li ainne,
Hubbe lautre, Baerin li puisne.
En un angle mananz esteient,
Delee Danmarch, ou maneient,
En mer ert cel liu enangle,
Mult bien enclos e bien ferme.
Quil ne doteient nuls genz,
1900 Ne les Guteis lur parenz,
Qui cele gent cum mort heiaient ;
Kar plusurs mals fet les aveient.
Cil Lothebroc e ses treis fiz
Furent de tute gent haiz,
Kar uthlages furent en mer
Unkes ne finerent de rober.
Tuz jurs vesquirent de rapine ;
Tere ne cuntree voisine

- Nert pres dels ou il a larun
1910 Neusent fait envasiun.
De ceo furent si enrichez,
Amuntez e amanantez,
Quil aveient grant annee
De gent e mult grant assemble,
Quil aveient en lur companye,
Kant erroient od lur navye.
Destrut en aveient meint pais,
Meint poeple destrut e occis.
Nule contree lez la mer
1920 Ne se put dels ja garder.
Icels genz, ices tiranz,
Furent de curages mult granz.
Armes aveient merveilousees,
Granz a desmesure e hidousees ;
Od tut ceo chescun sa partie
Out de chescune felonie.
Yngar ert si fel e culvert,
E de felunie si overt,
Ke nul conustre nel poeit,
1930 Si fel, si atilus esteit ;
Que a nul homme ne deist
Son corage, ne discoverist.
Hubbe fu sorciers ; si sout tut le estre
De sorcierie ; si fu mestre.
Ja ne fust host quil surveist,
Quil od poy de gent ne venqueist.
Berin ert si fel e si engres,
De ire angueuse si ires,

Le ire de li fu si ardant,
1940 Suz ciel nad homme vivant,
Quil esparniast a nul foer,
Kant le ire li munt en quoer,
Ke de li feist le neis voler,
Ou oreile ou les oilz crever.
Ja ne li fut si fin parent,
Meis il out od li une gent,
Granz e membruz, ki le teneient ;
Kant ces hees li surveneient.

Un jour vindrent devant le pere,
1950 Yngar, Hubbe, e Berin lur frere
Li murdrer, li engres larun,
Devant lur pere le felun
Se sunt asis en sa presence.
Chescun apres autre comence
A retreire les larcins
Quil unt fet a lur veisins.
Les murdres e les treisuns,
Les roberies, les arsuns,
Les destrucciuns deglises,
1960 Les aguaiz e les granz occises,
Dunt il unt destrut e gaste
Meinte tere e meinte contree.
Lur pere les oyt e entent
Parler si orgulousement ;
Les denz aguisse, e cruist, e gruint,
Frunce del neis, frunce del frunt,
Roule des oilz ; od quer enfle
Ad si respondu e parle ;

T

- Od grant dedegne si ad dit.
1970 Lanier ceo ait malveis requist ;
Tut est vent quanque vus parlez ;
Nest rien de ceo dunt vus vantez.
Kantes pais, kantes regiuns,
Kantes cites, e kantes mansiuns,
Avez conquis e purchaciez,
Dunt de rien seiez enhalciez.
Un juvencel de Sessoyne ne,
Noun Edmund, issi est nome,
Fiz del rey qui est segnur
1980 De Sessoyne, e qui tient lonur,
Od poy de gent en mer entra,
Od soul treis niefes si ariva
En Estangle, dunt ore est sire,
E reis, e prince del empire.
Le pais ad e le regnee,
Suz sa main a sa volente.
Quele aventure e quele conquete
Feistes unc semblable a ceste ?
Ahi, cum fait engendrure !
1990 E cum bone nureture,
Ai, fet en vus e quels enfanz,
Ke tant par vus faites puisanz !
Cil sunt de grant ire enbrase,
Pur lur pere qui out si parle,
Pur la vergoine quil unt eu.
De la sale se sunt eiseu,
Trestuz pensis, de ire enragez,
Coment purrunt estre vengez

De Edmund le fiz le rey de Sessoyne,
2000 Pur qui aveient hunte e vergoyne
De lur pere que si les laidi ;
Mult en sunt irrie e marri.
Purparlant vunt la treisun,
Coment averunt le barun.
E puis si unt tuz lur privez,
E lur peres ensemble ajustez ;
Conseil les unt de ceo requis,
E il les diseient lur avis.
Tant en parlerent en comun,
2010 Quil en furent trestuz en un,
Ke en Estangle dreit en irunt,
E le pais tut destruirunt ;
E occirunt tute la gent,
Riches, povres, comunalement ;
Vielz, joefnes, petiz e granz,
Hommes e femmes e enfanz ;
E le rey Edmund tut premier
Voldrunt occire e detrenchier.
Dunc feseient tost lur host banir,
2020 E genz comencent a venir ;
Une gent hiduse e grant,
Quaveient mult orible semblant,
Les uns unt res les chefs amunt,
Tut fors un tup devant le frunt ;
E les acuns unt res les chefs
Trestut fors un tupet detries.
Mulz i vindrent par mer par tere,
Armez e prestez de fere guere.

Par mer vindrent de tute parz,
2030 E en dromunz e en chalanz,
E en esnekes e en hallos,
En bouces, en barges partros,
Mil niefes en une compaynie ;
Mult assemblerent grant navie,
Ke tut fu la mer coverte,
De cele pute gent culverte.
Quant il unt apreste lur eire,
En la mer se mettent an eire ;
En halte mer sen vunt siglant,
2040 Trestuz ensemble en un tenant.
Tant unt par cele mer erre,
E tant curu e tant sigle,
Par aces e par amuntes
Unt tant sigle par lur jurnes,
Quil unt Engleterre choisie,
Si laprochent od lur navie.
En dreit del pais del north erent,
Tant cururent quil ariverent,
Juste la mer sur la costiere,
2050 Od lur estoire grant e fiere.
Kar nul port recevoir ne pout
Lestoire, tantes niefes i out,
Dunt la compaynie fu tan grand.
Ceo fu endroit Norhumbreland,
Ou cele gent sunt arivee ;
Il sespandent par la contree.
Mynute ert, les cokes chantanz,
Kant cels laruns, cels malfesanz,

Se mistrent parfunt en le pais,
2060 Bien uyt liwes, ou nef, ou dis.
Ceo fu Yngar qui la avala ;
Sur la marine Hubbe leissa.
Damparz trestuz se armerent,
E lur batayles contreerent,
Quil furent al albe aparant,
Kant le jur vait esclarisant,
Trestuz aprestez de mal fere,
Li enemy li adversiere.
Dunc se desrengent e dereient,
2070 Ardent, robent, tut e preient ;
En liz occient les dormanz,
E tut destrenchent les veilanz ;
Nul ne poeit aver garisun,
Ne de sa vie ranciun,
Ke tut ne seit a morte livere,
Kanke ataint unt e encontre.
Cil ki de Yngar poeit eschaper,
Nad ou fuer fors vers la mer.
Al encontrer ne puet guandir
2080 De Hubbe, quil nestuet morir.
Ne aveient garisun ne ados
Del morte le poeple quil unt enclos,
De lur deus hostes e de lur gent,
Ke occis ne seient a turment.
Quant cele grant prei unt conquise,
E fet aveient la grant occise,
Yngar li fel vezier lere
Prist conseil a Hubbe son frere,

Kil lerait la li e sa gent,
2090 Si ireit devers orient,
La meyte del host i menereit,
E lautre meyte li lerreit.
Kant ceo fu purparle e fet,
En mer se mette, si sen vet ;
Od grant estoire, od grant navie,
Od merveyluse compaynie.
Se mistrent en la halte mer,
Unc ne finerent de sigler,
Tanquil vindrent a un port,
2100 Ke la gent clayment Orefort,
Ke dunc ert une grant cite,
Anciene de antiquite.
Devant le port, loinz en lar mer,
Leissierent sigles avaler ;
De tutes parz ancre se sunt,
Desque la nute attendu unt ;
E quant il veient a la nuitant,
Quil virent le flot muntant,
Mult tost se sunt desaancre,
2110 E enz le port sunt tuz entre.
Tuit a larun cum gopilz,
Qui par nute cerche les cortilz,
Pur les gelins, le vilain,
Dunt volt aver son ventre plain ;
E cum lou fel e maldiz,
Qui entre en la falde as berbiz,
Kant est endormi le pastour :
Si fist Yngar le treytour,

Ki en la tere de Estengleis
2120 Vynt cum beste munteneis.
Kant les genz fur en lur liz,
E les poeples furent endormis,
En la cite subdeynement,
Entra il e tute sa gent.
Quant veit que les ad si supris,
De katre parz unt le feu mis.
Dunc pristrent tut comunalment,
Le aver, les dras, le or, e le argent ;
La cite mistrent en carbun ;
2130 Puis feseient tel occisiun
De la cheitive gent ki erent,
Qui garde dels ne se donerent ;
Bouche de homme nel poet dire
Le occise et la grant martire
Des cheytives e des cheytis ;
Nul ne poet dels esturtre vifs,
Quil en lur glayme encheisent,
E que orible mort ne suffrisent.
E feseient lur iniquite,
2140 E ravirent la chastete
De espuses e de puceles,
De vedues e de damiseles.
A grant dolur les demenerent,
E huntusement vergunderent.
E puis apres a morte les mistrent,
E detrenchierent e occistrent
Les baruns, veanz lur muliers,
Deglagierent les aversiers,

E les muliers tut ensement
2150 Mistrent e morte e a turment ;
Joefnes e vielz, petiz e granz,
E les enfanz alaitanz,
Detrenchierent e esbuelerent,
Occistrent e a morte getterent.
Kant lur eschet unt iloc feit,
Amunt en le pais se sunt treit ;
Tut autre tel funt les tiranz
Des gayneurs, des paisanz ;
Tuz les unt mort e occis,
2160 E lur aver robe e pris,
Fors la cheytive vilanaile,
La povre gent e la rascayle,
Quil dedegnerent a tuer,
E lur branz en els besordier.
A cels parle Yngar e dist ;
Vifs vus ay leesse par despist ;
Quen vostre sanc ne voile muiller
Mes beles armes, ne soiller.
E si vus volez vie aver,
2170 Si me dites tost le veir
De Edmunt, le rey de cest pais ;
Ou hante, ou est il estais ?
Cels aveient pour de morir,
Nel osent celer ne coverir,
Aynz respountent, A Hailesdun
Iloc meynt ceo dit homme.
Yngar le fel, Dieu enemis,
De males arz coint e apris,

Ententivement le quereit,
2180 Kar sovent dire oy aveit,
Ke Edmund le seint glorius rey
Out mult bones teches en sey ;
Quil ert joefnes dentur trent anz,
Pruz bachelier, fort e valianz,
En bataile hardi e fiers.
Pur ceo se hasta li aversers
De tuz occire e tuer,
Kanke en la tere poeit trover,
Ke li reis sucurs nen oust,
2190 Dunt il defendre se poust.
Pur ceo se hasta Yngar sanz fable
Li fel, li membre al diable,
De tost errer, de tost occire,
Quanquil pout trover en lempire.
E bien sout que li reis ne aveit
Defense, ou garir se purreit,
En Hailesdon, en cel hamel,
Ke ert loinz de bure e de chastel.
Le ham, le bois, le euwe de le
2200 Tut est Hailesdun apelle ;
Ou li chivaler Crist Jhesu
Seint Edmund a cel oure fu.
Yngar li Achemenien,
Ki vnkes oure ne fit bien,
Derrer se haste e se desreie,
A grant espleit teint sa veie,
Tanquil mesmes venu sunt
A la vile ou ert seint Edmund.

Dunc ad pris un son chivaler,
2210 Si en ad fet son messenger ;
Va tost, fet il, e tost reveien,
Al rey Edmund si li di bien ;
A mei se rende e de mei teinge
Son regne, e mon homme devienge.
E si me doune tut son tresor,
Son aver, son argent, son or,
Treu me rende chescun an,
Del regne quant orra mon ban,
E en mes Dieus, ou me affi tant,
2220 Creie, e les seit obeisant,
Sul issi vers mei se humilie
Asez tost, li lerrai la vie.
Si a mei ne se vout obeir,
De dure morte lestuet morir,
E il e trestute sa gent ;
Ceo li dites seurement ;
Ne aez ja nul pour,
Nus serrum pres a tun retour.
Li messenger si sen vait,
2230 E dreit a Hailesdun se trait ;
A la port vynt, si hucha ;
E le porter li demanda,
Ki estu ? va ; que vols ? que quiers ?
Cil dit, Jeo su un messagiers ;
Parler voldrai od vostre rey.
Le porter dit, Attendez mey ;
Jeo irray a li, si lenquerei,
Quil voldra si vus dirrei.

Le porter va al rei nuncier,
2240 Que a la porte ad un messenger,
E si voldreit a vus parler.
Li reis respont, Lessel entrer.
Li messenger est venu avant,
Oyant seint Edmund maintenant,
E oyant trestute sa gent ;
Dist son message hardiement.
Reis, fet il, entendez a mey,
E tuz cels autre que ci vey ;
Yngar, que mult fet a duter,
2250 En tut le siecle, en tere en mer,
Ki unkes jour vencu ne fu,
Ne james ne serra vencu ;
Ki est nostre lige sire,
Finablement vus mande a dire,
Que vers cest pais ad conquis
Plusurs teres, plusurs pais,
Dunt tut li poeple est enclin
A son comandement enfin.
Ore est en cest regne arive,
2260 Quil mult par ad desire,
Od grant estoire, od grant navie
Aver en volt la segnurie,
E en cest pais volt ester
Tut cest yver e sujourner.
Si vus mande ke a li venez,
E tost son homme devenez,
E de li tiengez vostre honour,
Cum de vostre chief segnour,

Chescun an treu li rendez,
2270 Tantost cum vus son ban oyrez,
E si li donez erraument
Tut vostre aver, or, e argent,
E ken sa creance creez,
E crestiente reneiez ;
Feites ceo ; ceo vus mande il bien ;
E si vus vus retreiez de rien,
Vus perderez mult tost la vie,
E le regne e la segnurie.
Grant turment vus estuet sufrir,
2280 E puis de horrible morte morir.
Reys responez sanz delay,
A mon segnur le nunceray.
Quant li seintim rey ceo oy,
De parfunt quor gemist e fremit,
E suspira od grant dolur,
E od grant ire e od tristur,
E un son evesque apella,
Ki ert son privee ; si demanda
Quel conseil aver en purreit,
2290 E que sur ceo li respundereit.
E cil li conseila e dist,
E loa bien quil feist
Kanque Yngar li aveit mande,
Pur aver vie e salvete.
Prendre purreit confessiun,
Quant ale sen fut li felun.
Kant li reis loit si agarda,
Vers la tere un poy senbruncha,

- Aval esgarda, si se tout ;
2300 Quant une piece pense out,
Cuntremunt ad son chief leve ;
Oyez quil ad dit e parle.
Evesque, Dieus, dunt surst tut bien,
Ki justis est de tut rien,
Il seit, tesmoyne de mey,
Ke e[m]perur, prince, ne rey,
Ne nul homme que seit ne en mund,
Ne departira mey Edmund
Mort ne vif de la charite
2310 Jhesu Crist, quen croice fu pene ;
Ki anel de fey jeo ay resceu
Al funz kant jeo baptice fu ;
Ou deniay e deguerpi
Del tut Sathanas lenemi,
E ses oures e ses pompees,
Les males, les desmesurees.
Dunc dist li seint reis dreiturer,
E si parla al messagier ;
Digne fussez de aver la morte
2320 De maynes des myens ; meis jeo recorde
Ke Jhesu nostre salveur
Pur nus suffrit morte e dour ;
Pur ceo ne te voil adaser,
Ne me mains en tey maculer.
En le noun Dieu voile la morte sufrir,
Mielz que a vostre rei obeir.
Vaten mult tost, e si li di
Cest respons que as ci oi.

A payne aveit ces moz pardiz
2330 Li sentim reis e parfurniz,
A payne aveit turne son oyl,
E li messager out passe le soil.
Ai vus encuntre, le fricun
Yngar, li engres felun,
Al messagier dist par desrey ;
Di mey tost les responsa le rey.
E cil li dist de mot en mot,
Cum li reis respondu out.
E li tirant, kant le entendî,
2340 Si comanda tost e bani,
Ke tute sa gent sespandisent,
E tuassent e occeissent,
E de querre mult les somunt,
Nomement le rei Edmunt,
Ki dedegne ses leis tenir,
E a ses preceptes obeir.
Cels sespandent, amunt, aval,
Qui mult coveiterent le mal ;
Kanquil troverent detrenchierent,
2350 E occistrent e deglagierent,
En la vile de Hailesdun.
Tut pristrent li colvert larun,
Le aver ke en la vile troverent ;
Naveit meisun quil ne pelfrerent.
Dunc sunt dreit al paleis venen,
Ou le amy Dieu saint Edmund fu ;
Cum le membre Jhesu Crist,
Trestut soul en son paleis fist.

Kant choisi lunt, mult tost fu pris,
 2360 A tere lunt gette e mis,
 E puis apres li unt liez
 Estreitement e mains e piez.
 Dunc lunt les feluns treine,
 E pardevant Yngar amene,
 Li colvert duc de mal esclate,
 Cum Jhesu fu devant Pilate.
 Sestut devant li li seint rei,
 Arme de creance e de fei,
 Ki coveite ensiwre la trace
 2370 De Jhesu Crist, qui par sa grace
 Suffrit e mort e passiun
 Pur nus e pur nostre raanceun.
 Seint Edmund tienent ferme lie,
 Devant le tirant enrage,
 De meinte manere gabe
 Lunt, e laidi e buffete.
 Puis lunt mene de maintenant
 De iloc les ministres al tirant ;
 E enmenant lunt si batu,
 2380 Pur poi que mort ne fu ;
 E dunc lunt mene tut dreit
 A un arbre que pres esteit.
 Apres le unt, la malveise gent,
 A larbre lie fermement,
 E puis forment le turmenterent,
 E batirent e flaelierent,
 E descurgiez, e de vergeanz,
 E de bastuns, puinals mult granz.

Unkes homme de mere nasquit,
2390 Ki tant mortel dolor souffrit.
Unkes pur ceo vencu ne fu,
Kil ne apellast le noun Jhesu,
Ki pur nus fu mis en la croice,
Plurant od mult pituse voice.
Kant les turmenturs ceo veient
Ke par tant veindre nel pureient,
Enragez sunt, de ire enbrasez,
Pur poi quil ne sunt forsenez.
Tuz a un bruit les enemis
2400 Lur seites, lur arcs unt pris,
Lur pilez e lur darz aguz,
E lur gavelokes esmoluz.
Un poi se esloignent del seint rei,
E dunc traistrent par grant desrei
Trestuz al cors del seint martir,
Ensemble, par si grant air,
Que les braz li unt estroez,
Quises e geambes e costez.
Parmi le dos, parmi lentraile,
2410 E parmi la mestre coraile,
Parmi le chief e la cervele,
Parmi le ventre e la boele,
Lunt trespercie de tutes parz
Seetes, gavelos, e darz.
Tant treit e tant lancie unt
Al cors del seint martir Edmund,
Tant i treistrent espessement
E pilez e darz ensement,

Ke lune playe en lautre ovre,
2420 Kant la saite liu retrovre.
E tant espesse i sunt li dart,
Kant il les traient cele part,
Ke lune estoche lautre en cors,
Ou de autre parte le boute hors :
Tant i out des darz grant fuisun
En le cors del seyntim barun,
Pel de hericiun ressemble,
Ou tel fuisun despines a.
Il nout ne braz ne poing ne pie,
2430 Qui plein ne fut de darz fichee.
E de seites e de darz
Tanz en out de tutes parz,
Ke nul ne put de oil choisir
La char del seintim martir.
Quant li cruel Yngar veit
Quil ne poeit en nul endroit
Fere seint Edmund le martir
A ses comandemenz obeir,
Ne obeir a ses comanz,
2440 Dunc comanda li fel tiranz,
As turmentours qui i erent,
Ke cruelement le tormenterent,
Ke la teste tost li colpasant,
E igneusement decolassent.
Li decoleur vient avant
Al seint martir Dieu reclamant
Jhesu Crist od piteuse voyce,
Qui pur nus fu mis en la croyce.

U

Sicum il pout, mult reclama
2450 Jhesu Crist, e sovent noma,
Tanque le seint martir
Pout de la lange mot furnir.
Si fu ataint quil ne pout plus,
Li decoleur fist son us.
Le seint martir ad deslie,
E del fut sanglant lad sache.
Enberse fu de tutes parz
E de seites e de darz,
Ken le dure fust enserre esteient ;
2460 Al sacher en le fust remaneient,
E parmi le cors se conduistrent,
E les fieres plaies remistrent,
Tant espesement en le cors,
Ke puint denter ne piert de hors,
Ou le point tuchast dun pointel,
Que blesmie ne fust la pel
Del seint martir, del bon barun
Mult souffrit peyne e passiun ;
A peyne en cors li bateit
2470 Lalme, tant turmente esteit,
Ka peyne pout ester sur piez ;
Li decoleur si fu irez.
Si li comanda maintenant,
Ke le chief estendit avant,
Que ja soleit estre corune,
E de real corune urne.
Li martir Dieu nostre segnour
Sestut devant le turmentour,

Sicum li mutun qui est esliz
2480 De trestute la faude de berbiz,
Ki morte e sacrifise atent ;
Si fist li seint homme ensement,
Ki volt sa vie teriene
Changier pur la celestiene.
Ententif en Dieu benefice,
Atent de sey le sacrifice,
Repleniz de bone manere
De la pardurable lumere,
De la quele en cest bataile
2490 Volt estre resaziez sanz faile.
Entre les urisuns quil fist
Vers son salveur Jhesu Crist,
Li decoleur ad de sespee
A un cop sa teste copee.
Issi departit de cest mund
Lalme del seint martir Edmund ;
Issi otre'a a souffrir
Dieus Edmund, son cher martir,
Pur li e son seintim noum,
2500 Martir e morte e passiun,
E de sa vie prist amendes.
En le tens del duzime kalendes
De Decembre, ceo dit lestoire,
Ke Dieus le resceut en sa gloire ;
E quil souffrit le sacrefice
De sey pur Dieu e seint eglise.
En la fin de sa passiun,
Resceut tele expurgaciun,

Ke plus fu purge e provee,
2510 Que ne est fin or esmere,
Od la victoire que out conquise,
E od la corune de justise.
Entra en pardurable ben
En seint sene celestien.
Par cele e issue vereyment
De mort e de cruciement,
Quil out de son cors suffert,
Par lur mal, nient par sa desert ;
Quil out ensuwi la trace
2520 De Jhesu Crist, qui par sa grace
Suffrit e morte e passiuun
Pur nus e nostre raanciun.
Cil Dieus, pur saner nus en ceste vie
De pechie, de mal, de folie,
A la columpne ou fut lie,
Ne pas pur sey son sanc expandie,
Meis pur nus il leissa enseignes
Des bateures, des engreines,
Quil suffrit pur nus salver,
2530 E pur nus hors denfer getter.
E cist, pur la gloire conquere,
Ke unkes ne falt, suffri en tere
Liez al fut sanglant tele peyne,
Pur lamur Jhesu Crist demeyne.
Cil Dieus e homme entier, en vie,
Pur hoster de nus la felonie,
E le roil de nos pechiez
De gre suffrit que cloufchiez

Fut, parmi piez e parmi mains,
2540 De clous de fer, hidus, griffains.
Icist pur la veire amiste
De Jhesu Crist fu trespercie.
De pilez, darz, e gavelos,
Parmi la meule e les os,
Ke tut son cors de tutes parz
De piles, gavelos, e darz,
Ert si covert, que rien ne piert
Del cors, qui dedenz enclos ert ;
Ke tut decire vereyment
2550 Fut del aspresce e del torment.
E humblement le martir Crist
En la confessiun parmist,
E al darein en pacience
Resceust la capital sentence,
Quil out la teste coupee,
E bien loinz del cors desevre.
Le cors issi destrenche,
E de pilez si herice,
Leisserent iluc sanz fable
2560 Les feluns ministrals al diable.
Yngar li felun, li tirant,
Le engres larun, le suduiant,
La teste del martir ad portee
E par malisce si loinz gette,
Bien loinz del cors en un buissun,
Celeement tut cum larun,
En un rufflei que espesse esteit,
Que nul avenir ni poeit,

En le bois de Hailesdun,
2570 Kant sen alerent li felun,
Od lur grant host de la contree.
La teste unt pur ceo deseuvre
Loinz del cors, que nel trovassent
Cristiens, ne al cors lajustassent,
E que en honeste sepulture
Ne meissent par aventure
Le chief e le cors ensemment
Del martir Dieu omnipotent.

Miraculum.

Un homme del cristiene lay
2580 Ert eschape del grant desray,
De la grant occisiun ;
En le bois de Hailesdun
Se esteit pur la pour muscie,
E en un ruflei se ert fichie,
Qui Dieus aveit fet eschaper
Pur ceste grant chose mustrer.
Par Dieu e par sa purveance
Vist il trestute la feisance,
E bien nota en son aguait
2590 Le hidus e le horrible feit
Del seint martir, del rei Edmund,
Quanke les feluns feit li unt,
Les granz peynes e le torment,
Trestut le vist apertement.
Meis del chief, puis quil le couperent,
Ne sout cum loinz le porterent,

Meis tant vist bien que porte lunt
Les murdrers enz en le bois parfunt.
E puis apres, quant pais venue
2600 Fu as eglises e rendue,
E les cristiens se leverent
De plusurs lius ou musciez erent,
Grant ire en unt e grant dolur,
De la morte lur tres cher segnur.
Ententivement demande
En unt entre els la verite
Del cors, e del chief ensement,
De lur segnur dunt sunt dolent,
Cum il les purrunt assembler ;
2610 Kar a grant honur enterer
Le voldreient a lur poeir ;
Mult le desirerent a avoir.
Kant alez furent les frarins,
Les feluns murdrers Sarazins,
En lur pais ou il ainz furent,
Kant vers Engleterre sesmurent,
E les cristiens revenuz
Sunt, qui esteient expanduz,
Fuiz e musciez e repost,
2620 Pur Yngar e son grant host,
Kant il se sunt aseure,
Ensemble se sunt assemble,
Pur quere le cors e le chief
De lur segnur, dunt lur est grief.
Il quierent ententivement.
E si troverent errantment

E virent le cors del martir
Sanz teste a la tere gesir.
En meyme le liu lunt trove,
2630 Ou li seint rey fu decolee ;
Ou son curs aveit acumpli,
E deltut vencu lenemi.
Cels dentur qui fuiz esteient,
E merci Dieu uncore viveient,
De tutes parz i aunerent,
E corurent e assemblerent,
Pur la remembrance e lamur
Del seint rei, de lur segnur,
E pur la pitie de benfaiz,
2640 E de grant biens quil les out faiz.
Comencerent tuz a plurer,
E mult grant doel a demener ;
Kant il nen unt le chief trove
Od le cors, mult lur ad peise ;
Mult par en sunt tristes e dolent ;
Meis Dampne Deus omnipotent
Par sa halte benignite,
Les ad tost en quoers espire,
Quil a celi demandeient,
2650 E mult vivement requereient,
Kel bois fu muscie en la guait,
E vist tut le ovre e le fait.
Demande lunt e enquis,
E il les dist tut son avis,
De mot en mot trestut les dist,
Ceo quil seust e ceo quil vist.

E dit bien quil vit saïeter
Le seint martir, e puis couper
La testa, e cels qui la colperent,
2660 Ouekes eus el bois la porterent.
Bien vit que els issi departirent,
Meis del chief ne sout quil firent.
E bien sucha en son corage,
Ke li chief remist el boscage.
La gent al seint, quant ceo oyerent,
Par le bois se departirent,
Od lur maisnee, od lur forz ;
Od cornes pur quere le chief del cors.
Si aveient entrels purparle,
2670 Ke cil qui eust le chief trove,
Haltement son corne cornereit,
E les autres apelereit.
E si sucherent bien pur veir,
Cels qui erent pur le chief cerchir,
Ke li Sarazin sudduïant,
Lur fole siwte cultivant,
Envie aveient de nostre lay,
De la creance et de la fay ;
Pur ceo aveient le chief deseivre,
2680 Loinz del cors en bois porte,
E muscie en acun rifflei
En buisun ou en genestei,
Ou reposte la seinte teste
Aveient suz aucune vile bleste,
Ou gette pur devorer
Ou a farain ou a senglier,

Ke cristiens ne la trovassent,
Ne al seint cors lasemblasent,
Ne a ceo feisent enterement,
2690 Od grant honur devoutement.
Les cristiens, la bone gent,
Funt lur primier purposement.
Par la selve vunt maintenant,
Amunt, aval, le chief querant
Del seintim martir Edmund,
Querent aval, querent amunt ;
Querent en buisun e en broil,
De desuz branches e desuz foil,
En espeisse e desuz plaissie ;
2700 Partut unt quis, partut cerchie,
Tanquen un espesse espinei,
Tut enclos dun grant runcei,
Oyerent une voice lointeyne,
Meis nesteit mye mult halteyne.
Oyez miracle e grant vertu ;
En le secle tel oy ne fu.
Le chief, del cors bien loinz sevre,
Getta voice, si ad parle,
Sanz aie e sanz matere
2710 De veine ou de nerf ou dartere.
Les quereurs, quant ceo oyerent,
Enquerant cele parte tendirent ;
Pas devant pas partut querant,
E tut entur en halt criant,
Ou est tun chief, martir, seint rey ;
La plus principale parte de tey ?

Ou est, ou est, martir Edmund ?
La langue el chief dit e respound,
Par treis feiz, *her her her*.
2720 Unt ceo ne fina de crier
Sulum la language as engleis.
Ceo est a dire en franceis,
Ici ici ici, ceo dit ;
Issi est note e escrit.
Tuz a ceste voice treiz se sunt
Envirun, puis ke ui lunt.
La langue morte fiert e tuche
As denz desuz, a overte bouche,
. Es ioes de la morte teste,
2730 E le palais desus sareste.
Unkes miracle plus verais
De cest ne fut ne ert jamais,
Neis del asne Balaan,
Ki parla en liu de Rechan,
Pur la folie del prophete,
Qui en ceo nert pas discrete.
Cest miracle, cest faisance,
Otreu Dieus e sa puissance,
Qui vit e regne omnipotent,
2740 Tut dis e pardurablement,
A son tres precius ami,
Ki par martire deservi,
E par turment e par peyne,
La dulce gloire sovereyne.

Miraculum.

Li furmeur de tut le mund
Le pretius martir Edmund
De un autre miracle enbeli,
Fors cel unc tel ne fu oi.
La gent ki si feytement virent
2750 La teste parler e oierent,
Aparceurent delez la teste
Une grant lou, une fere beste,
Ki out mis amedeus ses powes
De deus parz le chief lez les jowes.
Issi out le chief enbracie,
Que son groin avait apoue
Sur le frunt, mais la face aperte
Out, e la bouche descouverte,
Dunt la langue uncore moveit,
2760 E *her her her* sovent diseit.
Cil lou a la tere se just,
Tut en pes, ke unkes ne se must,
E a tere ses chambres teneit
Le seint chief dunt gardein esteit.
Si se peyna del chief garder,
Ke unkes nel leissa ad eser
A beste ne a autre rien ;
Mult par le garda li lou bien.
Sa salvagesce vereyment,
2770 Sa rage e son devouement,
Si ublie del tut, en tut esteit,
Ki a rien fors al chief ne entendeit.

- Cels qui virent esbai sunt ;
Cornes e busines corne unt ;
De tutes parz i acururent
Tuz cels qui entre el bois furent.
Cels qui cel merveile virent,
De grant maniere se esbaierent.
Kant la gent ert tute asemblee,
2780 E le merveile unt esgardee,
Lespes runcerei deslacierent,
E vers le seint chief se aprochierent.
Tost se leva la beste fiere,
Quant ceo vit, si se treist ariere ;
E cels od grant devociun,
Od chant e od processiun,
La seinte teste quil troverent
A son seintim cors porterent.
E li lou enpres els veneit,
2790 Pas devant pas pres les siweit,
Triste e dolent mult en sa guise,
Quil unt de li la teste prise,
Dunt il esteit mestre e gardein.
La fiere beste, li farein,
Les siut apres, bon aleure,
Deske al liu de la sepulture,
Quil unkes homme ne tucha,
Ne ne laidi ne blecha,
Meis simplement cum un aigniel,
2800 Les siut pres desqual tumbel.
Quant il out grant piece este,
E en sa guise doluse,

Ariere sen vait maintenant,
Dreit al bois ou il fust devant.
Mult se merveilerent la gent
Del lou e del contenment.
Veient que ceo ert la Dieu vertu,
Ke unke mes ne aveient veu
Nul si fier lou en lur vivant,
2810 Si hidus, si fort, ne si grant.
 La laye gent e la clergie,
Qui aveient quis e purchace,
Cele tres chere margarite,
Pretiuse, entere, e parfite,
Cel tresor, cel grant honour,
Le seint cors del cher segnour,
Par grant entent e grant queintise,
E par lasent de seinte eglise,
La seinte teste a mielz quil sorent,
2820 E al plus bel quil unke porent,
Al seintim cors justerent
E devoutement aturnerent.
E la char e la pel dehors
Del col si vinst si ferme al cors,
Cum il fu ainz quant il vif fu ;
Ceo fu m[i]racle e grant vertu.
E puis apres lensevelirent,
E sur sa tumbe fere firent
Une loge, une chapelette,
2830 Ne mye grant, meis petitete,
Ou li seint rei, de Dieu ame,
Just maint an puis entere.

A cele fez ne porent plus fere,
Pur la pour del aversiere,
Yngar, dunt sunt espourez,
Qui mult sovent les out laidez.
E puis, quant la pes vint en tere,
E aquaise fu la grant guere,
E la tempeste fu remise,
2840 E pes revint a seinte eglise
E le poeple, qui espandu
E partut esparlie fu,
Revindrent a possessiuns,
E as teres e as mansiuns,
E il furent aseure,
Dunc se sunt entrels purpense
Del corseint del martir Edmund,
Que trop lo[n]gment sufert lunt
E trop longment lunt leisie,
2850 Gisir suz si povre fie,
E en si povre meisonette,
Si estreite, si petitete ;
Ereer en volent par saveir,
E tut autre conseil avoir.
Li corseint, en tel povre hostel,
Seint fu e espiritel,
Ki de la main Dieu beneit fu,
Out maint an entere geu,
E ki pur lamur Jhesu Crist
2860 En cel liu maint miracle fist,
E mainte vertu mult sovent,
Veant le poeple e la gent,

Cum de avougles alumer,
E de meuz rendre le parler,
E cum les sourz fere oyer,
E devez en lur sens vener,
E les contrez rendre le aler,
E cum langurus saner.
De tutes parz i acurent
2870 Les bone genz que entur furent ;
Mult par i aveit grant repaire
De grant gent a icel a faire.
La rascaile e la povre gent
Ni vindrent mye sovenerement,
Meis les plus riches del pais,
E qui plus erent poestis,
Cum evesques e cum abez,
E cum plusurs ordenez,
Cuntes, baruns, e chivalers,
2880 E bacheliers e esquiers,
Citeeins, burgeis, e paisanz,
Riches, povers, petiz e granz,
I soleient mult repairer,
E od lur lumer esveiller.
Ses hommes qui uncore viveient,
E quen lur remembrance aveient
E lamur e la compaynie
De li e de sa segnorie,
La dulceur e les granz buntez
2890 Quil out fait vers ses privez,
Les mist en quoer e en corage,
Que voelent de tel liu salvage

- Hoster le seint cors lur segnur,
E aliurs mettre a grant honor.
Tant unt cerchie par le pais,
Tant unt demande e enquis,
Quil unt trove liu acceptable,
E bel e bon e covenable,
En une grant vile real
2900 Ki riche ert[e] emperial.
Bederiches-worthe nomee,
De Bederiz, quil out fundee,
Un riche rey qui la funda,
E de son noun noun li dona ;
Bederiches-worthe en engleis,
La curte Bederiz est en franceis ;
Est dite e entrepretee
De Bederiz quil out fundee.
Quant il unt choisi e eslit
2910 Le seint liu e le seint abit,
Ou il voleient lur seint segnur
Herbergier od mult grant honor,
Dunc unt quis e purchacie,
Quil unt finement cungie,
Des segnurages de cel fiu,
De faire en icel mesme liu
Bele chapele ou bel muster,
Ou devoutement herberger
Puisent le seintim segnur,
2920 Od grant gloire, od grant honor.
Cels ne voldrent pas demurer,
Ainz funt errantment aturner

Une grant eglise de fust,
Ou li trespent martir just.
Mult par la firent bele e grant,
Mult bien fait e avenant,
De merveiluse entablement.
E de mult riche entailement,
Mult valt mielz que feire muster
2930 Ki fut de pierre e de mortier.
La eglise ert bele a desmesure,
E de si tres bele feiture,
Ke unkes homme a cel jour
Ne aveit veu beleisur.
Mult fu par grant engin overee ;
E quant ele fu paraprestee,
Que nule rien ni out a feire,
Dunc se mistrent en lur repaire ;
Que par sentiere que par chariere,
2940 A Hailesdun vindrent ariere.
Si unt al poeple recunte
Coment il unt fait eovre,
E quil unt leglise apreste,
Mult bele e grant e long e le,
E avenant de mult grant guise.
Unkes homme ne veit si bele eglise
De fust, fors sulement iceste.
De herberger est tut preste
Le corseint Edmund le martir ;
2950 Ore le faites tost defour.
Cels unt tost la clergie mande,
E les plus sages del regnee,

E quant il tuz asemble sunt,
Le seint cors del martir Edmund
Funt ignielement defourir.
Puis pristrent le cors del martir,
Od la case ou il giseit,
Ou il primes mys esteit ;
Sur une biere lunt puis mys,
2960 E sagement e bien asys ;
Diluc porterent le barun,
Od joye e od processiun,
Vers Baderiches-worthe dreit,
Eirent e vunt a grant espleit.
Mult i vynt gent e poeple grant,
Clerc e chivaler e paisant,
Cuntre le corseint sunt ale.
Tute la clergie de la cite,
E chivaler, clerc, e citein,
2970 De la cite iserent a plein,
Od processiun e od chant ;
Mult par en unt cels joye grant,
Quil unt tel tresor conquete ;
Trestuz en unt Dieu mercie.
En la cite entre en sunt,
Od le corseint, que mene unt
Dreit al liu que apreste esteit,
Ou li corseint gisir deveit.
La case ou il primes mys fu,
2980 En quele meint an aveit giu,
Desjointe unt e deserree ;
Une autre case unt aprestee

De un estrange fust pretiuse,
Ou le corseint e gloriuse
Volent mettre cum i ert dreit,
E cum Dieus purveu le aveit.
Kant la vielz case unt descloee,
E desjoint e deserree,
Le corseint unt deseveli.
2990 Kar trover le quident purri,
De ceo que longment geu ust
En tere, sicum a Dieu plust,
Quant tant i out este enclos,
Ne quident trover fors les os.
Oyez miracle e grant vertu.
Il unt esgarde e veu,
E troevent le corseint si sein,
Sanz plaie, si bel e si plein,
Des granz plaies quil resceust
3000 Que blesceure ni aparust ;
Par els memes sunt sanees
Les granz playes desmesurees.
E la ou le chief culpee ert,
Cum un filet vermeile i pert,
Ke tut entour le col ligist.
Cest vertu fist Jhesu Crist
Pur son dru qui est de li amez,
E puis autres vertuz assez.
Il unt le corseint aturne
3010 Mult richement e aurne,
E hors de la vielz case pris,
E en la novele lunt mis.

E en le plus bel liu del eglise
Od halt chant, od grant servise,
Le mistrent mult devoutement,
Cum a si grant tresor apent.
E la case de serrures,
Bones e fortes e seures,
Lenserrent, e as clers livererent,
3020 A seinte gent qui dignes erent
De garder si riche tresor,
Qui mult valt milz que argent ou or.
Si fu li seint cent anz e dis,
En char, en os, cum il fut vifs.
E les gardains ki le garderent,
Plusurs feiz en lan le visiterent ;
E quan il overirent la biere,
Si virent quil out plus vive chiere,
E le vis plus clier e rovent,
3030 Ke nule damisele de juvent ;
E virent que ses chevez furent
Creuz, e que ses ungles crurent ;
E de ses piez e de ses mains,
Sicum il fut vif e tut seins.
Entre ces seintés gardeins avait
Une dame, nonain esteit ;
Seinte femme ert de grant maniere,
Religiuse e almonere ;
En junes e en oreisuns,
3040 Prieres e afflictions,
Esteit cele e nute e jour,
Entur le fertre al seint segnour.

Ceste dame dunt vus ai dit,
Par la grace Seint Espirit,
En prist mult grant hardement ;
Dieu la fist feire omnipotent,
Par sa demustreisun demeyne.
La dame se mist en grant peyne,
De honurer tuz jours le cors seint ;
3050 De li servir pas ne se feint.
Nel teneit a peyne ne ahan,
Kar mult sovent feiz en lan,
Le fertre overi, si li peigna
Les chevez, e puis royna ;
E ses ungles tut ensement
Recoupa ele mult sovent.
En une chere case mist
Les retailles quele en prist,
Ke desque a cest jour sunt gardee,
3060 E cum relikes honureez,
En leglise de seint Edmund,
Ou chèrement gardes sunt.
De cest mester tuz jours servit
La dame, tant cum vesquit.
Ke multz anz vesqui e multz jurs,
Plus que ne funt ore plusurs.
Dunc viveient plus longement
De sez que ore ne funt la gent
Oswen ert la dame nomee,
3070 Seinte dame e sage e membree.

Miraculum.

Un evesque, Theodred out noun,
Seint homme de grant religiun,
Evesque ert de la contree.
Oyez cum Dieus li ad mustree
Par sa grace la verite,
Cum nus avum desus cunte,
De seint Edmund le bon barun,
Ki enter gist sanz corruptiun,
Tut enterins en char en os,
3080 En sa seintime case enclos,
Od bele chiere e od cler vis,
Cum il fut uncore tut vifs.
En tele manere le prova
Li evesque, ki Dieu ama,
Cum vus purrez ore oir.
Al fertre del seint martir
Venirent gent de mente tere,
Pur Dieu e pur le seint requere ;
E reys e cuntes e baruns,
3090 I veneient en oreisuns.
Offrirent mulz belbelez,
Nusches dor, bos dor e anelez,
Harpuns dor, pretiuses pieres,
Besanz e margarites cheres.
Dunt le fertre de seint Edmund
Est le plus riche de cest mund.
De tutes parz i vindrent gent,
Tel offri or e tel argent ;

De plusurs riches regiuns
3100 I vindrent genz en oreisuns.
Mult par lur veneit grant aport,
De suth, del west, del est, del nort.
De tutes parz i vindrent gent,
Riches, povres, comunalment,
Ki les aportoint le bien ;
Riche ert le liu sur tute rien.
Oyent laruns, plein de felonie ;
Del riche liu aveient envie.
Feluns erent en tutes guyses,
3110 Murdrers e frussiers deglises ;
De tutes maneres de mals
Furent mestres cels vassals.
Il aveient entrels machine,
E conseile e purpalle,
Ke leglise despescerunt,
E tut le tresor emblerunt.
Quaque en clos ert del cimitire,
Ke rien nen avera a dire.
Il se sunt mult tost apreste,
3120 E a cele rage aturne.
Une nute que fu mult obscure
Vindrent il, tut bald e sure,
Quant la gent furent en repos ;
Si se mistrent tost en le clos
Del eglise de seint Edmund,
E puis tost al muster sen vunt,
Od lur engeins, od lur ustilz,
Dunt il furent duiz e sutilz,

- Desquels il unt oels a parfeire
3130 Le larcin e le contreire.
Kant al muster furent vënu,
Si senforcent par grant vertu
Trestuz del eglise enfundrer ;
Li un prent seschiele a drescier
Sus al pareie del muster,
Seurement, sanz encumbrier
Quil se mette par la fenestres
En le muster la ou il voleit estre.
Li autre od sa lime dure
3140 Lime del us la serrure,
E trenche les clous ou se tient ;
Lautre od son martel i vient,
E se peyne de martelier,
Kar le us volt descloer.
Li autre od besques e od picois,
Quil unt afeitiez a lur chois,
Suffoent entur la parei ;
Chescun se peine endreit sei,
De cel overegne par furnir,
3150 Kar a chief en quident venir.
Sicum il sunt en lur estal,
Partie amunt, partie aval,
Tut a lur mester entendant,
Tel abaisie, tel en estant,
Les lia Dieu e le martir
Ke nul dels ne se pout partir,
Ne li curb ne pout drescier,
Ne cil en estant abaisier,

Quil ne se purent remuer ;
3160 Desqual matin, que jour fu clier.
Cele nute i ust un mariner,
Ki sonout les seyns en le muster,
Qui tut oit cest batestal
Ke feseient amunt e aval,
Meis pur lamur del seint martir
Le fist Dieus si en pes gesir,
Kil ne pout del liu lever,
Ne mot dire ne mot soner ;
Desqual demain, quil fu cler jour
3170 Ke la gent vindrent dentour,
Qui unt apertemen[t] veu
Cel miracle e cele verteu
De laruns qui si sunt lie
En le ovre que aveient comence.
Deloques les unt ostez e pris,
En fierges e en prisun mis.
Puis furent par le vengeance
Del seint evesque vereyment,
Theodred, mis tuz a la hart ;
3180 Ki puis sen repentit trop tart,
Quil les out si a mort juge ;
Dolent en fu e corusce.
Kar a grant pechie le teneit,
Quil issi jugez les aveit.
Si sen fust einz purpense,
Ne les out pas a morte livere.
Ne pensa pas kant il ceo fist,
Ke Dieus par le prophete dist,

Del deliverer ja ne cessez
3190 Cels qui sunt a la mort jugez.
Si les dit del prophete Dieu,
Kum apele Eliseu,
Ki garist e remist a la vie
Les laruncels de Samarie,
E pain e euwe les dona,
E en lur pais enveia,
E defendit le rei e dist
Quil pas a morte ne les mist.
Pur la quele chose cist prodomme
3200 Cist evesque dunt dit avum,
Quant il se fu repurpense,
Mult fu dolent e trespense
De ceo quil out fet des laruns.
Mult en fut dolent e enbruns,
E penitence gref en prist,
E merci Dieu bien la parfist ;
E pur ceo se mist en granz dolours
Longtens, en oreisuns e en plours,
E par mult grant compunctiun
3210 Pria Dampne Dieu de pardun.
Kant parfaite out sa penitence,
Si manda par grant pacience,
Par sa eveschie environ,
Que tute la gent a bandun
A pain e euwe geunasent
E Nostre Segnur priasent
Tres jurs, en langes e nupiez,
Ke Dieus li pardunt ses pechiez,

E li otreit par son pleisir
3220 Quil puse le cors del martir
Veeir e de mains manier,
Sil gist, sicum homme dit, entier ;
E il si feseient entreset.
Kant aveient la june fet,
A la chase viennent tut dreit
Ou li ber seint Edmund giseit.
Li evesque chiet a genuliuns
Devant la chase en ureisuns.
Kant aveit ure e prie,
3230 A la chase se est aprochie.
La chase prist tost a uverir,
E le corseint a descoverir.
Le cors trova e sein e bel,
E si enterine la pel,
E issi clere la faceun,
F[r]unt e vis e neis e mentun,
E piez e meins e ventre e dos,
Od char serree sur les os,
Cum il fu quant il fu vifs,
3240 E en cest secle poestifs.
E la chare trova si entiere,
Cum nus avum dit ceanariere,
Ke unkes blesceure ni parut
Des granz plaies quil ainz resceut.
Li evesque, qui proz homme fu,
Sicum Dieus laveit purveu,
Le seint cors de ses mains lava
E le vestit e le aurna

Des dras de sey de ultre mer,
3250 Des plus chiers quil pout trover.
E puis en une chase chere,
Ke ert de plus riche maniere
Que lautre fu ou il ainz just,
Lenseveli sicum il dust.
Benesquirent Dieu en loant,
Le seintim rei tut puisant,
Qui en ses seinz est merveilus,
E en ses ovres glorius,
E vit e rengne Dieus e sires,
3260 Par tuz secles par tuz empires. Amen.

[PART II.]

Translate avum laventure,
Solum le liure e lescription,
De seint Edmund, coment il vint
En Engleterre, que il tint,
Dunt rey fu tant cum il vesquit,
E del martir quil suffrit.
Translate lai desque a la fin,
E del engleis e del latin,
Que en franceis le poent entendre
3270 E li grant e li mendre.
Uncore volum avant aler,
E les granz miracles cunter,
Que nostre sire Jhesu Crist
Pur samur mustra e fist.

Dit en ai grant partie,
 En sun martire e en sa vie.
 Meis ore vus dirrai la summe ;
 Nel tint pas a fais, ne a grant summe.
 Denis Piramus, kil ad translate,
 3280 Nel tient pas a fais ne a baratte ;
 Li Seint Espirit me seit grante,
 Ke jeo renablement la face,
 E gre me sace de ma peyne
 E Dieus e seint Edmund demeyne,
 E del eglise li segnur,
 Ki me unt enchargie cest labur.
 Del primer tens que Dieus furma
 Le mund, e le secle estora,
 Out cink mil anz par dreit nombre
 3290 Desqual tens que Dieus en umbre

La date de la passion Seint Edmund.

Fu en la virgine Marie,
 Pur nus getter de morte a vie.
 E de cel tens, sanz mesprisun,
 Desqual martire seint Edmun,
 Uyt cenz anz e seysant e dis ;
 Issi le avum en livre apris,
 E lescriptur le nus dit
 Ki lestre seint Edmund descrit.
 Li seint florist en ceste vie,
 3300 Cum larbre que fructefie,

- E gette e porte beles flurs,
Dunt ist la tres dulce flairurs.
Bouche de homme ne poet descrire
Kanz vertuz Dieu nostre sire
Pur le seint martir anceis fist
Quil venist la ou ore gist.
Meint clarete i virent tuit,
Kant plus oscure fu la nuit.
La clarte nert pas mainoveree,
3310 Dengin de homme, ne aurnee,
Ainz ert espirital lumere,
Ke veneit de seinte manere,
Cum granz rais del ciel amunt,
Desur la tumbe seint Edmund.
Ceo en est la signifiance,
Que Jhesu par sa grant puisance
Li ad en son regne aleve
En sa pardurable clarete.
Veirement il avint issi,
3320 Cum escrit est e jeo le vus di,
Que apres que seint Edmund li ber,
Dunt vus me oyez ci cunter,
Suffrit e morte e passiun
Pur lamur Dieu e pur son noun,
Que d'Engleterre les parties
Teneient plusurs segnuries
E mulz plusurs reis i aveient,
Lur realmes quil teneient,
Plus quil ni out avant ne apres ;
3330 Meis Estangle trestut ades

Ert sanz rei e sanz chief segnur ;
Que de tuz les pais de entur
Ni out grant ne maien ne mendre,
Qui osast segnurie en prendre
Sur la tere al seintim rey ;
Nul nen osa prendre sur sey ;
De grant manere le douterent ;
Kar en lur curages noterent
Que bien deit estre e reis e sire
3340 Del pais ou suffrit martire ;
Kar mult ben aveit deservi
Vers Dampne Dieu e bien meri
Que nul reis charnel poeste
Oust sur li en son regnee.

Miracle.

En cel contemple i aveit
Un rey qui mult prodomme esteit
En Westsex fu son regnee,
E si ert Eadred appele.
En son tens cristiente fu
3350 Bien eshalcie e meintenu,
Partut Engleterre environ,
Fors sul en la tere al barun
Seint Edmund ; la fu esquaisie,
E de grant manere abaisie,
Par Daneis qui i converserent,
Qui apres Yngar remis i erent.
E cele folur quil maintindrent,
Quil pur sen en lur guyse tindrent

- Par tut Engleterre voleient
3360 Fere errer si il poeient.
Meis Eadred li reis dreiturers,
Ki mult esteit bon chivalers,
Les abaisa de lur folur,
E les fist meint deshonor.
Quant Daneis od lur grant acost
Sur li veneient od lur ost,
Sovent feiz pur guerreer
Tuz jurs fu lur li encombreer.
Li rey Eadred pas ne les ama,
3370 Meint en occist e meint tua,
E meint fist en vie escorchier,
E meint ardeir e meint neir,
E meint fist les membres cuper,
Kar unkes jour ne les pout amer.
Mult par hait lur veisinage ;
Unkes ni vindrent sanz damage.
Cest bataille, icist haanz,
Dura entrels entur cink anz,
Que unkes li felun vassal
3380 Ne porent tenir nul estal
Cuntre Eadred le rey hardi,
Ki sur tut rien les hai,
Ki tuz jours les descomfist,
Kar mult ferement les requist.
Quant les Daneis, serfs al malfe,
Veient e se sunt purpense,
Quil ne porent plus mal feire
En la tere ne plus contrere,

En mer entrent od lur navie ;
3390 Si vunt siglant vers Normandie.
Cum il ainz porent ariverent,
E parmi la tere en passerent,
De Normandie tut le frunt.
Tant unt erre que venu sunt
En France dreit devant Paris ;
Si unt entrels lur conseil pris,
Ke la cite par force prendre
Voelent, sil ne se voelent rendre
A els, e feire les homage,
3400 E rendre chescun an chevage.
Meis Charles li Chalf, qui rei fu
De France, est tost contrels venu
Od ses Franceis e od sa gent,
E les desconfist errantment ;
Si les fist fuir e turner
O hue leve vers la mer.
Mulz en occistrent en fuant
Li chivaler e li servant ;
Mulz en i out nafrez a mort,
3410 Ainz quil venisent a port,
Ou il ariverent enceis.
Tant les menerent li Franceis,
Que mulz en unt nafrez e pris ;
Par force les unt en nefes mis.
E Charles le Chalf od sa gent
Revit en France errantment.
E les Daneis mult tost lur nefes
Aprestent, e levent lur trefes,

Cum ainz porent a rive vindrent ;
3420 Unkes puis en France ne revindrent ;
Les cols de France tant doterent,
Ki fierement les encontrerent.
Li Daneis, li Dieu enemy,
Sen sunt en halte mer fui.
Uncore ne voleient pas cessier,
De lur grant rage demener ;
Ainz cuillierent errantment
Grant companye e mult grant gent ;
Mult greindre quil naveient enceis,
3430 Quant les descomfistrent Franceis.
Si alerent de tere en tere,
Ardant, robant, feisant grant guere,
E quanquil surmunter poeient,
De fiere morte morir fessient.
Les feluns Daneis, la gent sote,
Demenerent ceste riote,
Tant que derichief retournerent
Vers Engleterre e ariverent.
Kar il voleient Engleterre
3440 E assaylir e conquere
De vn rei, Alure aveit noun,—
Frere fu Eadred le barun,
Le rei qui regna devant li ;
Prodommes furent ambedui.
Meis ainz quil al rey asemblasent,
E quil de rien i aprochasent,
Si enveia la Dieu pusance
Sur els tele ire e tele pesance,

E seint Edmund le bon martir,
3450 Ki de rien ne ama lur venir ;
Kar il les mist tost a la morte
Sanz recourer e sanz resorte,
Pestilences fortes e fieres,
Denfermetez de plusurs maneres
Les feri si subdeynement
Que lur feit devint a nient.
Quant Alure le rei loy,
Ke si furent aneinti
Par les merites seint Edmund,
3460 Dunc suspira de quer parfunt ;
Si loa Dieu e le martir ;
En plorant ne se pout tenir ;
Le corseint, tant cum il vesqui,
Ama, honura, e cheri.

En cel contemple que dunc fu
Ne mustra Dieu nule vertu
El liu ou li corseint giseit,
E ceo esteit a mult bon dreit.
Kar cels qui i erent conversant
3470 Ne esteient mye bien creant ;
E si Dieus miracles i fist,
Nul ne nota ne lescrit,
Ne nule ne sen perneit,
Kar lur creance fieble esteit.
Meis un apostoile out a Romme,
Martin out noun, treseint homme,
Qui une partie ad tramys
De la croice ou Jhesu fu mys,

- En la tere al rei Alure,
3480 Kar oi aveit de sa bonte,
Que bon cristiens fu li reis,
Sage homme, mult pruz e curteis.
E par la requeste Alure
Li out la pape grante
A lescole englesche tut dis
La franchise dunt fu requis.
Par ces reliques quil tramist,
Par la grace de Jhesu Crist,
Lapostoile al rey Alure
3490 Enveia la cristiente.
Ces reliques sunt bien gardez,
E cheriez e honurez,
En Engleterre a grant honur,
Cum dreit est, jesqua cest jour.
Apres ces fesances fini,
E de cest secle departi,
Alure, li reis honore,
E apres ses jours, corune
Fu li vielz Edward en le pais.
3500 Si en fu reis poestis,
Meis mult poi de tens il dura.
E apres ses jours si regna
Rey Athelston, li bon barun ;
E puis un rei, Edmund out noun,
E le rei Ealured autresi,
E apres li le rei Edwi.
E puis Edgar son frere apres
Regna en le pais tut ades.

Quant cil fini, ou tost ou tart,
3510 Si regna le seint rey Edward ;
E apres ses jours si regna
E la regiun governa,
Un rey qui ert Aielred clame,
Qui mult ama cristienete,
E en ses ovres vereiment
Si mustra Dieu omnipotent,
E fist mainte bele vertu
Pur seint Edmund son tres cher dru,
Que li evesque e li abe,
3520 Prestre, diacne, clerc, lettre,
Mistrent en escrit errantment ;
Dunt ore vus dirrai en present
Une bele miracle, une grant vertu,
Coment avint e coment fu.
Lestoire dit, e pur veir cunte,
Quil avint si, que un vescunte,
Lefstan out noun, si fu nome,
Vescunt esteit del cunte
Ou le cors seint Edmund giseit,
3530 Meis sur tute rien fel esteit.
Cil ne volt unkes fere honur
A seint Edmund le cher segnur,
Meis tut le mal e la contraire
Quil poeit e sout a suens fere.
Meis sa guere sur sei verti ;
Kar seint Edmund bien li rendi
Le mal, la peyne, la grant perte,
Quil out de li long tens suferte.

Dieu se coruscea mult forment,
3540 Si en prist de li le vengeance.
Si avint dunc, que cil vesquens
Leva matin en este tens ;
Ceo fu le primer jour de May,
Que del soleile sunt cler li ray ;
Quant leve fu e apreste,
Si en vait tenir son cunte
De suz la vile seint Edmund,
E une place deleez un munt,—
Thinghowe lapelent la gent ;—
3550 Meint homme i ad este dolent ;
La homme soleit les batailles fere,
Meint homme i ad eu contraire.
Ilukes tint il son cunte,
Sicum il fu acustume,
Pensant, eginnant, coment
Il puise enginner povre gent
E coment il les mette apert
En forpez sanz lur desert.
Sicum cil entur ceo molle,
3560 Si troveit escrit en son roele
La femme que ert vers li forfeite,
E sulum lescrit enfraite.
Cele ert triste, murne, e marrie,
De grant manere espurie,
Que li vescunt en son record
Ne la feist juger a mort.
Mult par duta la vie perdre ;
Ne saveit alure ou aerdre ;

Meis tries un tries altre sen vait,
3570 E al fertre saint Edmund se treit.
La quida aver guarisun
De morte e de destruccion,
Que unke le vescuunt nel sout,
Ne nul de soens qui of li out.
La cheitive femme esgariee,
Ke mult par fu espontee,
Gist devant la chase al martir,
Plurant e gettant meint suspir,
E pria Dieu devoutement,
3580 E le saint martir ensement,
Que, sicum il est poestis,
La garde de tuz ses enemis.
Kant le felun Lefstan le sout,
Ke la femme que en plait mis out
Sen fu fui al muster,
Nen out en li que coruscier.
Ses hommes mult tost apela,
E irrement comanda
Ke le muster mult tost cerchasent,
3590 E la femme tost li menasent.
E ses serjanz tuz errantment
Vunt fere son comandement.
Il alerent dreit al muster
Pur quere la povre mulier.
Quant il vindrent trove lunt,
Devant le fertre saint Edmund,
E mult egrement demanderent,
A cels qui entur le fertre erent,

- La femme qui out este le jour
3600 Jugie devant lur segnour.
Un de plus anciens respount,
Que ele ert entur seint Edmund ;
Prestre ert, e un diacne od li ;
A piez se drescent ambedui,
E respunderent errantment
Que il noserent naient,
Homme ne femme, a els liverer,
Ki ja pur sa vie sauver
Fust venu al seint a garant ;
3610 Nel f[e]reient, ne tant ne quant.
Kant les serjanz ceo oyerent,
Irrement entrels fremierent,
Kar il noserent contredire
Que comande les out lur sire.
Ainz corurent tuz par hair
Dreit a la fertre le martir,
Ou la povre femme giseit,
Ke mult sovent Marie crieit.
Il la pristrent mult cruelement,
3620 E treistrent felonessment
La cheitive povre mulier,
Par poinz, par piez, hors del muster.
Quant les clers e cels qui esteient
Quen entur le martir ceo veient,
Ke cels vnt fet cel grant rage,
E al martir si funt ultrage,
Deluc sen alerent tut dreit,
La ou li seint martir giseit.

Lur set psalmes comencerent,
3630 E devoutement les verseilerent,
E la letenie ensement,
Od lermes mult devoutement.
Dieu prient de fin quer entier,
E le bon corseint del muster,
Quil mustre sa pussance,
E del surfeit prengne vengeance.
Dunc avint si, quentre cest fait
Lessa li fel vescunt son pleit,
Pur la femme que aver voleit,
3640 E si ala a grant espleit ;
E se hasta vers le muster,
Ou il teneient la mulier
Qui pur li enveie erent ;
Avis li fut que trop demorerent.
Cum il en cimiter entra,
E sicum il mielz erra,
Si sarestit sempres an eire
A une tumbe de un proveire,
Ki quant fu vif Bonde ert clame
3650 La se est li vescunt areste ;
Il nalast avant pur nul plait.
Pur le grant pechie que avait fait
Dieu le en getta de sa vie,
E li diable resceive le malbaillie
Vereyment en sa companye,
Pur son pechie, pur sa folie,
Sicum ses hommes ceo virent,
La povre femme deguerpirent,

E corurent tuz trezvasez
3660 A lur segnur qui fut devez,
Plurant e criant mult forment
Pur lur segnur dunt sunt dolent.
E puis tantost cum il vindrent,
A peyne e dolor le tindrent.
A cel ure Dieu li puissant
Fist deus miracles mulz granz,
Le un ke delivera la mulier
De peril de morte dencumbrier,
E lautre fu ke li vesquens
3670 Fu sudeynement hors de sens,
Par seint Edmund, le treseint rey,
Qui en desdein out son desrey.
Cil cheitif, cil Dieu enemy,
De ceste vie departi,
Male fin out e male mort
Par ses culpes e par son tort,
Sicum lorent li malfe
En ceste vie enfantosme.
Si firent il mult grant vergoyne
3680 A son ord cors a sa charoyne,
Que tere nel poeit souffrir,
Ne sepulture retenir.
Meinte feiz de la terre issi,
Puis kum lout enseveli.
La gent nel poerent endurer
Plus longment, meis aturner
Feseient le quir dun tor mult grant ;
Si feseient mettre maintenant

Cele orde charoyne, cel cors,
3690 E puis coustre forment dehors,
E treynerent errantment
Hors de la vile e hors de gent,
E en une orde putel que ert parfund
Le feseient getter jesque a founz,
Une pierre a son col pendu,
Ke a funz lad bien tenu.

Miracle.

Un autre fez, en tens destre,
Si mustra Dieus sa poeste,
Quil fist de un fort rei felun
3700 Pur lamur de seint Edmun,
Pur qui Dieus nostre salveur
Fist grant vertu e grant honor.
Cil felun rey si out noun Suayn ;
De grant felonie esteit playn ;
De cest secle mult artilus,
E des ovres Dieu ublius.
En Danmarche ert son regne,
Sa richesce e sa poeste.
Cil rey ses veisins mult hai,
3710 E de tut son poer laidi.
Kanquil pout de mal les soleit fere,
Meis puis li turna a contreire.
Celi reis aveit en sa bailie
De plusurs gent grant companye ;
Kar Daneis, Suaneis, e Guteis,
E Westwikins e Winedeis,

- E mult des genz dautre contres
Le siwrent pur lur soldes,
Ke les doneit e prometteit ;
3720 A grant merveile gent aveit.
Dunc ert al rei Suayn bien avis,
Kil poeit chescun pais
E chescune tere conquere,
Od son grant host e od sa guere.
Dunc fist assembler errantment
Tut son poeple e tute sa gent ;
Sa tere assist e ordena,
E ses assises i mustra,
Sicum fist son ancestre ;
3730 Tant cum il vesqui si pout bien estre.
Puis fist sa mesnee aturner,
E od sa gent se mist en mer.
Bon vent ount a lur talant,
Vers Engleterre vunt siglant.
Quant en la tere arive sunt,
Robent aval, robent amunt ;
Tant roberent e tant pelferent,
En Northfolc ou ariverent,
Quil unt mul grant aver conquis
3740 Par la tere e par le pais,
Tant se longuerent de lur port,
Quil sunt venu dreit a Tiefert.
Meis iluc les covint atendre,
Kar la tere les volt defendre.
Un riche homme de cel pais,
Chivaler bon e de grant pris,

Hardi e pruz cum leun,
Vlfeketel aveit il a noun.
Il se combati ferement
3750 Od sa mesnee e od sa gent,
E les Daneis tut autresi ;
Qui mult furent pruz e hardi.
Mervelus coupes sentre donerent
Dambes parz, kant se assemblerent.
La veissez les grant melleies,
Granz coupes de haches e despeies,
Tant poinz, tanz piez, tanz chiefs voler,
Tantes lances truncuner,
Tanz chivalers escervelez,
3760 E tanz occis e tanz nafrez,
Tant espandre sanc e cervele,
E trener tante boele,
Tanz escuz a or estroyr,
Tante blanche broine falser,
Tantes lances fraindre e crussir,
Tanz hommes mors envers gisir,
Tanz seites e tanz darz
Treier e lancer dambes parz,
Qui trepercent quir e coraile ;
3770 Escu ne hauberc ni vaut maile,
Ke tut ne trespercent li dart,
Ni ad ose lanier ne quart.
Vlfeketel e les soens od sei
Ert en le frunt del primer cunrei,
Que quanquil ataint ad cravante,
Nul apres son colpe ne se a vante,

Kil ne puisse, sil volt bien dire,
Ke ja mester ni avera de mire.
E le rei Suayn del autre parte
3780 Se conteint cum urs e leopart,
Ki se cumbati mult ferement,
Kanquil ataint parmi li fent.
La bataile oust bien vencu,
Kant il ad choise e veu,
Detries sei une companye,
Une mult grant chivalerie,
Ke Ulfeketel i out enveie
Ke de guere esteit vezie,
Privement ad recelee
3790 Par une sutive valee.
Il furent set cenz chivalers,
E quatre cenz des archiers,
Ki pres les chivalers armez
Veneient le petit pas serrez ;
Si as chivalers surde destresce,
Quil les seient fortresce.
Kant li rei Suain e son vassal
Les vit surdre devers le val,
Il ad dit a ses plus privez,
3800 Enginez sumes e gabez ;
Viez cum grant gent la surt,
Ne quide que nul de nus returt
James al pais dunt eissimes,
Folie fu que cea venimes.
Meis contenum nus sagement,
Cum pruz e hardie gent.

Le dareyn conrei se combate,
A cels si les movent barate,
E vus cea a mielz que purrum
3810 Vers Ulfeketel combaterum.
Ulfeketel ert delautre parte ;
En sa main destre teint un dart.
Quant il ad choise sa gent
Del val surdre serrement,
Il e les suens tuz a un cri
Unt Suayn e les suens esbai ;
E cels del aguet les requierent,
Ki unc de rien ne les esparnient.
La veisiej tel corusseiz
3820 De lances, e tel chapeiz
De haches, despees, de branz,
Dunt il donent les cops mult granz.
Le rey Suayn veit quil nad nul ados
E de tutes parz est enclos.
De ses plus mortels enemis ;
Mult en est dolent e pensis.
Ne ne veit liu que il se venge,
Ne seit quel conseil en prenge
Kar Ulfeketel e sa gent
3830 Des soens occient cent e cent.
Lur estre ne valt mes un as,
Kar de cumbatre sunt si las,
Quil ne se poent mes ayder.
Il veient bien lur encumbrer,
Quil ne poent aver repos ;
A Ulfeketel turnent le dos.

Parmi les cunreiz del aguet
Sen fuirent tut entreset.
E Ulfeketel e sa mesnee
3840 Les feseit mult grant hachiee,
Ke a dos les vunt enchaceant,
E par centeines occiant.
Tant en occistrent les Engleis,
Des feluns, des engres Daneis,
Bouche de homme ne numbrast mie,
Tanz perdirent iluc la vie.
Tanz sunt morz, e tanz sunt occis.
De set mil ne eschaperent vifs
Fors soulement cessant e set.
3850 Cels en meine Suayn, qui sen vet,
Mates e descumfiz vers la mer,
Sachez, nun cure de sujorner,
Kant furent a lur nief venuz,
Ne erent mie lentes ne perescouz ;
En halte mer tost mis se sunt,
E vers lur pais se revunt
Ringhemere est icil liu dit
Ou Daneis furent descumfit.
E Ulfeketel pas ne sojourne ;
3860 Vers seint Edmund mult tost se turne ;
Dieu merci le rei de glorie,
E le seint rei de sa victorie,
Par qui grace il ad Suayn venu,
E descumfit e confundu.
Pur veir vus di que dunc regna,
E tut le pais governa

D'Engleterre tut envirun.
Un rei qui Aieldred out noun,
Cil ne osa unkes manier
3870 Escu, ne brand nespeie balier,
Ne autre arme vers son enemi,
Tant out le quer anaienti.
E tant ert coart e chalus,
Malveis, laners, e pourus
E nepurquant meinte contreire
Fist il a soens e meint desfaire ;
Fist il a tort e sanz reisun ;
Tant par ert en crisme felun.
Quatre pruz hommes en le pais
3880 Vers le north erent astais ;
Mult furent cil quatre prodomme
Bons e leaus ; ce est la summe.
Meis li reis en he les coilli,
Pur ceo quil erent pruz e hardi,
Les baruns a la morte mettereit,
Mult volentiers si il poeit.
Cels quatre baruns qui li reis
Hai tant, orent nuns Engleis ;
Ne furent pas nomez Richer,
3890 William, Robert, ne Gauter ;
Meis le un dels out nun Leofwine,
E lautre ert clame Aelfwine,
Le tirce Siverz, le quart Markiera.
Mut par furent bons chivalers.
E sunt del rey forment hai,
Meis il erent bien guarni ;

Ne les hai pas pur lur folur,
Meis pur pruesce e pur valor,
Dunt duiz sunt li quatre barun
3900 Pur ceo les heit li reis felun.
Mult erent riches de grant fin,
Cil quatre barun palain ;
Kar tute la tere esteit lur,
Sicun la mer lenclost entur,
D'Escoce jesqua Gheniesburc ;
Nen out erite, chastel ne burc,
Dunt il ne fuserent chief segnur ;
Tut le mielz d'Engleterre ert lur.
Li reis les hait mult forment,
3910 E il le rey tut ensement.
Engin queissent volentiers
Qual rey sursissent encumbriers,
E fesei[e]nt il prochainement
Al rey doel e grant marrement.
Il pristrent de lurs quatre sages,
E tramisterent en lur messages ;
E Danemarche le tranmistrent,
E les comanderent e distrent,
Quil saluasent Suayn le rey
3920 De lur part, chescun endroit sey,
Cum lur tres lige segnur,
De qui tendreient lur honor.
Sil volsist venir en le pais,
Reis en sereit poestis ;
De la tere, de la segnorie,
Avereit il la grendre partie ;

Volentiers le resceyverunt,
E tuz homage a li ferunt ;
E a li liverunt del pais
3930 Tut le mielz, sulum lur avis,
Cumberland e Westmeriland,
E trestut Northumberland.
Ne avera chastel, cite, ne burc,
D'Escoce jesqua Gaynesburc,
Foreste, chace, ne pescherie,
Dunt il nen avereit la segnorie.
Les messagers se sunt turne,
A Danemarche en sunt ale.
Al rei unt dit tut lur avis,
3940 Pur quei il erent tramis.
Quant le rey Suayn loyt, mult fu lee,
Unc tant de rien ne fu haitee.
Les messagiers bel apela,
E ausi mult les honura,
E si les fist mult bele chere,
E honura de grant manere.
E les fist séjourner noblement,
Tant cum lur vint a talent ;
E kant il sen voldrent aler,
3950 Mult riches dones les fist doner,
E puis son conge les dona,
E ces paroles les livera.
Amys, fet il, vus en irez,
E vos segnurs me salurez,
Cum les plus tres chers amys,
Que jeo aime tant cum sei vifs,

E tuz cels del north autresi ;
Dites que jeo lur mand defi ;
Quen cest an les vendrai veir,
3960 Si jeo ma sante puis avoir.
Cels revunt en lur tere dreit,
E ceo que Suayn dit les aveit,
Noterent les quatre messages
En privete a lur segnurages.
Reis Suayn ne sest pas ubliez,
Ainz ad tuz ses baruns mandez ;
Son conseil lur ad descovert,
E bien les ad dit en apert,
Que tuz se aprestent cum a guere,
3970 Kar aler volt en Engleterre.
Puis fet tute sa gent banir,
E gent comencent a venir.
Deus tant de poeple asemla
Quil nout quant il primes ala
En Estangle, ou se combati
A Ulfeketel qui le venqui.
Li reis Suayn bien les soldeia,
Riches soldes les dona
Ainz quil se meissent en mer ;
3980 Ne les voleit plus demorer.
Puis fist mettre sa gente banie
En halte mer od lur navie.
Puis se mist li reis en sa nief,
E fist drescier mult tost son trief.
Od sei ne mene, tant ne quant,
Ne parent ne femme ne enfant,

Fors soulement son fiz Knout
Amena od sei quant il se mut.
Dunc siglent e nagent tut dreit
3990 Vers Engleterre a grant espleit.
Tant siglerent e tant corurent,
Quil virent bien e cunurent
D'Est-Engleterre le graveir,
E les faleises blancheier.
Dunc apela Suayn le rei
Son mestre mariner a sei ;
Siglez me, fet il, beals amys,
Trestut dreit devers le pais,
Ou jadis solei ariver ;
4000 La voldrum a nute hosteler.
Li mariner issi le fist,
Cum Sueyn son segnur dist.
Od lur estoire sunt entre
En Gernemue e arive.
La novele est tost expandue,
Ke le rey Sueyn est a Gernemue.
A Ulfeketel vint la novele,
Saver poez, ne li fu bele.
Ulfeketel esteit a cel tens
4010 De deus cuntez lur vesquens.
La gent del pais asemla
Devant li ; si les demanda
Quel conseil il en purrunt prendre,
Kar ne se purrunt pas defendre
Vers Sueyn, qui si sudeynement
Est sur eus venu od grant gent,

E ki tuz les vout a mort retraire,
E destrure sil poeit faire.
Kar tres bien le savez en fin,
4020 Que Sueyn est plus fel que mastin.
Ja vers li ne troverum graace
Quil nus doint un sul jour despace,
Quil ne nus face une nuaie,
E nus nen avum nul aie.
Ne nul conseil de nostre rei,
Ne nul confort, ne nul agrei,
Qui nus devereit trestuz aider,
E maintenir e conseilier.
Meis si tant de respit en usse,
4030 Ke jeo gent assembler pusse,
Ja Sueyn ne ireit de cest pais,
Quil ne fust descumfit e pris.

Next line (catchwords at foot of fol. 24 b).

E ses amis li respondi

THE CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER

VOL. I., p. 384

*Rolls Series, 86. Part I.*Cotton MS. Caligula,
A. xi. fol. 3.

ll. 5284-5309.

Edelred was after him . king ymaked in þe place .
 Eigte hundred 3er & seuene & sixty . as in þe 3er of grace .
 Þe verste 3er of is kinedom . þe deney's þikke come .
 & robbede & destruede . & cites faste nome .
 Maistres hii adde of hor ost . as it were dukes tueie .
 Hinguar & hubba . þat ssrewen were beye .
 In estangle hii bileuede . to reste hom as it were .
 Mid hor ost alle winter . of þe verste 3ere .
 Þe oþer 3er hii dude hom vorþ . & ouer homber come .
 & slowe to grounde & barnde . & euerwick nome .
 Þer was bataile strong ynou . vor islawe was þere .
 Osric king of humberlond . and monie þat wip him were .
 Þo humberlond was þus yssent . hii wende & tounes nome .
 Sopat atte laste . to Estangle agen hii come .
 Pere hii barnde & robbede . & þat folc to grounde slowe .
 & as wolves among ssep . reuliche hom to drowe .
 Seint Edmund was þo hor king . & þo he sey þat deoluol cas .
 Þat me morþrede so þat folc . & non amendement nas .
 He ches leuere to deye him sulf . þan such sorwe yse .

He dude him vorþ among is fon . nolde he noþing fle .
 Hii nome him an scourged him . & supþe naked him bounde .
 To an tre & to him ssote . & made him mony a wounde .
 Þat þe arwen were on him so þikke . þat no stede nas on him
 bileued .

Atte laste hii martred him . & smite of is heued .
 Þe sixteþe 3er of þe cournement . of aldred þe king .
 A nywe ost come into þis lond . gret þoru alle þing .

GLOSSARY

ssreven	wicked wretches	bileuede	remained
Eueruik	York	yassent	injured
reuliche	pitifully	deoluol	doleful
yse	to see	to drowe	tore to pieces
leuere	rather	supþe	afterwards
stede	place	heued	head
fon	foes	þoru	through

BODLEY MS. LAUD 108. PUBL. 1887. IN THE EARLY
SOUTH-ENGLISH LEGENDARY

VITA SANCTI EADMUNDI REGIS

SEINT EADMUND þe holie kyng ; i bore was here bi este
 In þe on ende of Engelonde : of 3wam Men makiez feste ;
 For of southfolke he was kyng : and of þe contreie wel wide .
 Pare weren in Enguelonde þo : kyngus in fale side .
 Swype fair knyzt and strong he was : and hardi and quoynte,
 Meoke and mild and full of milce : and large in eche poynte .
 Twey princes of an opur lond : þat weren in lupere pouzte,
 Nomen heore red to-gadere faste : to bringue Enguelond to
 nouzte ;
 hubba was þat on i-hote : and þat opur heizte hynguar .
 Into enguelond huy comen with gret fierd : are ani man were
 i-war :
 In North-humberlond huy bigunne : and pare huy slown to
 grounde
 And robbeden and barnden al to nouzt : and destruyden al þat
 huy founde .
 þo huy hadden north-humberlond : clanliche a-doun i-brouzt,
 Al-so huy wolden al enguelond : and pouzten huy nolden blinne
 nouzt :
 hynguar, þat þe o. maister was : his felawe he bi-lefde pere,
 hubba, and wende here bi este : to quelle þat pare were .

Of þe guodnesse of seint Eadmund : he heorde much telle .
 Into is lond he wende a-non : to fondi him to quelle .
 Into is hexte toun he cam : er ani man were i-war,
 And robbede furst al þat he fond : and made þane toun wel
 bar ;

And al-so he slov þat folk to grounde : al þat he mizte of-gon,
 3ong and old, wyf and Mayde : he ne sparede neuere on .
 children fram heore moder breste : he drov and let heom quelle
 And al-to hewe bi-fore þe moderes : þat reupe it was to telle ;
 þare-After he let þe Moderes a-sle : sorewe þare was I-nouȝ !
 þane toun he barnde al to douste : and al þat folk a-slouȝ .
 he axede at some of þe men : ȝware heore kyng were,
 And huy teiȝten him ȝware he was : huy ne dorsten non-oȝur
 for fere :

In the toun of Eglesdone : a guod wei þarnes, he was .
 þo þe lupere prince heorde þat : he ne made no softe þas,
 Ake wende him pudere ful hastifliche : with his lupere men
 ech-one .
 huy comen and metten þane holie kyng : with-oute þe ȝate
 al one .

A . non so hynguar wuste þat it was he : he let him nime þere,
 And bi-segi is Men alle : þat with-Inne were .
 þis holie kyng was faste Inome : and in a luyte stounde
 Bi-fore þe prince he was i-lad : naked and faste i-bounde,
 Rizt as men ladden one louered bi-fore pilatus : for-to a-fongue
 is dome,

For-to a-fongue þare is dom : and non so men him nome,
 In a wode as he was i-lad : to a treo huy him bounde
 And with smarte scourges beoten him sore : and maden him
 many a wounde

pis holie man stod euere stille : he re grochchede nouzt ene,
Ake euere he cride 'god, þin ore !' : and non opur he nolde him
mene .

So pat pis lupere tormentores : pat beoten him so sore,
pouzten pat huy him schame duden : and hov huy mizten don
him more .

huy benden heore bouwene and stoden a-feor : and heore Arewene
rizten :

Ase to ane marke huy schoten to him : aseevne ase huy mizten .
þe Arewene stikeden on him ful picke : and al is bodi to-drowe ;
And euere stod þis holie man : rize stille as þei he lowe .

Ase ful ase is an Irchepil : of piles al-a-boute,
So ful he stikede of Arewene : with-Inne and with-oute,
So ful, pat in none stude : on Arewene ne mizt In wende
bote he for-korue some opure : more is bodi to rende .

Ase þe holie man i-Martred was : seint Sebastian,
Also huy serueden is holie bodi : and schoten þane holie man,
pat everech pece fram opur fleu : pat wonder was of is liue .
And euere he stod as him no rouzte : and cride on god wel
bliue .

Do hynguar i-saiz pat huy ne mizten : þare-with ouer-come him
nouzt,

A-non he let is heued of smyte : pat he were of liue i-brouzt .

Ase þis holie man is beden bad : a man smot off is heued ;
And is bodi was al-to-rend : and nouzt i-hol bi-leued .
And for it was so al-to-drawe : huy leten it ligge þere .
Ake, for men ne scholden nouzt finde is heued : forth with heom
huy it bere

Into þe wode of Eglesdone : ane derne stude huy founde :
A-mong picke þornes huy it casten : and hudden it in þe grounde .

Do heo hadden of pis holie kyng : al heore wille pere,
 glade and blipe huy wenden forth : lupere Men ase it were .
 Pat heued huy hudden derneliche : pat no cristine man ne come,
 3if pat pare ani bi-lefte a-lyue : and with him pannes it nome .
 A wilde wolf pare cam sone : and to pe heued he drovz,
 And pare oppe he lai and wuste it faste : a-gein is kuynde
 i-nouvz—

For is kuynde were more to for-swolewen it— : and licked it
 ofte and custe,

And rízt as he wolde is owene zwelp : with wilde bestes it
 wuste .

Sethpe pare comen cristine Men : and in sum power weren
 i-brouzt :

Pat holi bodi huy founden sone : for it was i-hud rízt nouzt .
 Ake for huy ne founden nouzt pat heued : a-bout huy wenden
 wide

And souztten it longue, in manie studes : euerech in his side .
 huy ne mizten it find for no pyng : so pat huy comen ane day
 bi-sides pulke picke pornes : pare ase pat heued lai .

huy nusten nouzt pat it was pere : po bi-gan pat heued to grede,
 Ase it a-mong pe pornes lay, and rízt peose wordes sede :

‘ Here, here, here,’ with swete voyz : ase pei he were a-liue .

Do pat folk i-heorde pat : puder-ward huy wenden bliue :
 pat heued huy founden in pulke stude : ase hit him-sulf sede .

Louerd, i-hered beo pi mizte : pat pare was a fair dede !

pat heued huy beren to pe bodi : and setten it euene pare-to,
 And beren it forth with gret honovr : ase rízt was forto do .

To seint Eadmundesburie huy ladden him : ase men cleopiez
 noupe bene toun—

pare is on Abbeie of blake Monkes : ase huy setten him a-doun .

In swyþe noble schrine huy brouȝten him : ase riȝt was for-to do .
þare he lijth ȝeot hol and sound : ase heo i-seoth þat cometh him
to :

For is bodi þat was so to drawe : hol bi-cam anon
And sound, as þe ȝwyle he a-liue was : boþe of flesch and bon ;
þat heued al-so faste to þe bodi : ase it was euerer .
In al is bodi nas o weom : þat man miȝte i-seo þer,
bote ase is heued was I-smyte : ase ore louerd it wolde,
A smal red line is al-a-boute : schininde ase of golde .
A swyþe fair pilegrimage it is : þudere for to fare,
For-to honouri þat holie bodi : þat þare hath i-leie so ȝare .
Nouþe god for þe loue of seint Eadmund : þat was so noble king,
graunte us the Ioye þat he is Inne : aftur ovre ending. Amen.

VITA SANCTI KENELMI REGIS

Early South-English Legendary. Ed. Horstmann, 1887.

BOD. MS. LAUD, 108

Ʒe king Ʒat was of ast-londe : king was of North-folk,
Ʒe bischopricke of Northwich : and al-so of South-folk,
And al Ʒe bischopricke of hely : Ʒat Ʒe Yle of hely Ʒeot is,
And graunte brugge-schire : Ʒare-to falleȝ, i-wis ;
Seint Eadmund was of Ʒat lond : kyng bi olde dawē—
For he was in is owene lond : for is guodnesse a-slawe.

PIERRE LANGTOFT

(Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 312).

Elfrede un cosyn en Norfolk avait,
Co fu saint Edmoun ke suz li regnayt,
Estangle trestut à sun regne appandait.
Un duk de Danemarcke, ke Ingar se nomayt,
Sur le rays Edmound en Northfolk aryvayt,
Hubba, counte de Gynes sun compaynoun estait.
Saint Edmond l'oit dire, et par lettres les maundait
Pees et bon amour ; Ingar ly revayt
Si la terre volt rendre, pees li graunterayt.
Saint Edmound s'atire, à la bataylle s'en vait.
L'oste de Danemark si grand poer avait,
Ke saint Edmound fu pris ; Ingar ly copayt
La teste des epaules, et loynz del cors getayt.
La teste, pur veirs, après kant homme la querayt,
Après le cors trouvé " Here ! Here ! Here ! " parlait.
Ore git le corps en fertre à Saint Edmon tut draït ;
De vii aunz fu rays, quant Ingar li tuayt.

ROBERT MANNYING, OR LE BRUN

(Yates's *History of Bury*, p. 46).

Elfride had a kosyn, that kyng was of scheld,
Northfolk and Southfolk of Elfride he held.
That was Saynt Edmunde the croune that time bare,
A duke of Danmark, his name was Inguare ;
Ubbe, an erle of Huneis, with that Inguar kam,
Uppon Saynt Edmunde Northfolk he nam.
Edmunde sent his messengers, of pes them besought,
Inguar sent bode ageyn that pes will be nought.
Bot if he gald him the lond than he suld haf pes,
That wild not saynt Edmunde, the bataile he ches.
He attired him to bataile with folk that he had,
But this cursed Danes so grete oste ay lad,
That Edmunde was taken and slayn at the last,
Full far fro the body lay was the hede kast.
The body son they fonde, the hede was in doute,
Up and doune in the felde thei souht it aboute.
To haf knowing thereof, all thei were in were,
Till the hede himself said, Here, here, here !
Ther thei fonde the hede is now a fair chapelle,
Oxen hate the toun ther the body felle.
Ther where he was schotte another chapelle standes,
And somewhat of that tree thei bond untill his hands,

The tone is fro the tother moten a grete myle,
So far bare a woulfe the hede, and kept it a grete while,
Unto the hede said, "Here," als I befor said,
Fro the woulfe thei it toke, unto the body it laid,
Men sais ther he ligges the flesch samen gede
But the token of the wonde als a rede threde,
Now lies he in shrine in gold that is rede,
Seven yere was he kyng that tyme that he was dede.

CHRONICA DE MAILROS

(GALE, vol. i. p. 143).

- A.D. 859. Sanctus Eadmundus Orientalium Anglorum suscepit regnum.
- A.D. 865. Paganorum exercitus quo duces erant Iwarus et Hubba venit in Angliam, et perendinaverunt in Estanglia.
- A.D. 870. Iwarus et Hubba cum multis Danorum millibus Estangliam veniunt, et Sanctum Eadmundum occidunt, et cum illo Humbertum episcopum.

POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN

(Rolls Series, vol. vi.).

P. 330. A.D. 856. Hoc anno sanctus Edmundus cœpit regnare super Estangliam, sed quarto decimo anno occiditur.

A.D. 857. Rex West Saxonum Ethelwulfus obiit.

P. 338. A.D. 865. Etheldredus, tertius natus, post duos fratres succedit in regnum West Saxonum VII. annis. Cujus anno primo magna Dacorum classis apud Estangliam appulit et hiemavit.

P. 342. A.D. 869. Dani . . . a partibus Northimbrorum transierunt ad Estangliam, per annum apud Tedfort. Quo quidem anno Hyngwar et Hubba Dani sanctum Edmundum regem occiderunt apud Egglisdoun (Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo). Caputque regis Edmundi inter fruticeta occultatum civibus quærentibus patris lingua se patefecit, dicens Her, her, her, ubi repertus est lupus caput regis amplexus, qui turbam occurrentem mansuete secutus est (Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iii^o ?). Post regis occisionem, Edwoldus frater ejus exhorrens mundi delicias, eo quod se et fratrem suum durior fortuna exceperisset, apud Cerviliense monasterium in Dorsetania, juxta fontem perlucidum quem sanctus quondam Augustinus ad baptizandum populum Conversum precibus produxerat, vitam heremiticam solo pane et aqua protrivit.

TREVISA'S TRANSLATION

P. 331. Þat ȝere seynt Edmond bygan to regne over þe Est Angles, but he was i-slawe in þe fourtenþe ȝere.

Ethelwulfus, kyng of West Saxons, deide þe þrittenþe day of Janyver.

P. 339. Etheldredus, þe þridde broþer of burþe, was kyng of West Saxons after his tweye brøþren eigte ȝere. In his firste ȝere, a great navey of Danes londede in Est Engelonde, and lay þere.

Þe Danes . . . went out of Norphomberlond to Est Anglond, and lay al a ȝere at Tetforde. Þat ȝere Hingar and Hubba, tweie Danes, slouȝ seint Edmond þe kyng at Egbesdoun (*sic*). Seynt Edmond his heed lay i-hidde among bushes, and spak to hem þat souȝt hym in þe contray longage, and seide 'Heere, heere, heere.' Þere a wolfe was i-founde þat byclipped the kynges heed, and folowede myldeliche the men þat were i-come. After þe sleynge of þe kynges (kyng, his) broþer Edwoldus hatede þe likynge of þe world, for hard fortune took hym and his broþer, and levede an ermytes lyf onliche by brede and water, at the Abbay of Cerne in Dorsete, by þe cleer well þat seynt Austyn by his prayers made springe somtyme for to baptise þe people þat tornede to Cristene byleve.

FROM THE 'LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA'

(Rolls Series, 1866).

DE REGNO ESTANGLORUM.

Quartum regnum fuit Estanglorum, habens ad orientem et aquilonem mare; ad circium Cantebriqshiriam; ad occidentem Fossam sancti Edmundi et Hertfordshiriam; ad Austrum Estsex. Et duravit hoc regnum sub duodecim regulis, donec occiso rege Edmundo ab impiissimis Danis Hyngwar et Hubba, Dani regnum illud sibi usurparent. Qui Hyngwar, dum quoddam vadum pertransiret in comitatu Barokensi, dimersus est; quod vadum usque hodie ab ejus nomine a comprovincialibus Hyngurford appellatur. Hubba vero dum equitaret, subito terra aperiens os suum vivum absorbuit. . . .

Annæ successit Ethelherus. Cui Ethelwaldus, Athulphus, Elkwodus, Hisboernus, Ethelredus, cujus filius fuit sanctus Egelbricus, patronus Herefordensis ecclesiæ. Cui successit sanctus Edmundus, qui ab nequissimis Danis Hyngwar et Hubba martyrizatus est. Quo etiam tempore universitas Cantebriqgiæ combusta est, quæ fuit ædificata anno a mundi creatione quater milleno octingesimo quinto decimo, a Kantebro duce, et frequentata a philosophis ante Christi incarnationem per annos trecentos nonaginta quatuor, ut scribit Florentius in Florario Historiali libro quarto, capitulo sexto decimo.

[The text is that of the 'Macclesfield' MS. of late fourteenth or fifteenth century.]

OF THE KINGDOM OF THE EAST ANGLES.

The fourth kingdom was that of the East Angles, which is bounded on the east and north by the sea, on the north-west by Cambridgeshire, on the west by S. Edmund's Dyke and Hertfordshire, and on the south by Essex. This kingdom lasted, under the rule of twelve petty kings, to the time when, after the murder of King Edmund by the miscreant Danes Hyngwar and Hubba, the Danes usurped the sovereignty. As for Hyngwar, he was drowned while attempting the passage of a ford in the county of Berks, and the ford is to this day called after him, by the people of that district, Hungerford. Hubba's fate was to be swallowed alive, while riding, in a chasm of the earth which suddenly occurred. . . .

Anna was succeeded by Ethelhere, and he in turn by Ethelwald, Athulph,¹ Elkwod, Hisboern, and Ethelred, whose son was Saint Ethelbert, the patron of the church at Hereford. Ethelbert was succeeded by Saint Edmund, who was martyred by the profligate Danes Hyngwar and Hubba. At this time also was burnt the University of Cambridge, which was erected in the year 4815 from the world's creation by a chieftain named Kanteber, and was frequented by philosophers for 394 years before the Incarnation of Christ, as is stated by Florence in his *Garden of History*, Book IV. chapter xvi.

¹ This name and the two following names are 'blundered' forms of Aldulph, Alfwoold, and Beonna.

JOHANNIS FORDUN, SCOTORUM HISTORIA

In Anglia vero, duobus annis ante suam (h.e. Constantini) mortem elapsis, regem Estangliæ, sanctum Edmundum, dictarum classium pagani martyrizabant.

MS. BODLEY, 240.

Bulla de festo sancti edmundi sollempniter ab vniuersis celebrando. Innocencius . iiij^{us} . episcopus seruus seruorum dei venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis ac dilectis filiis abbatibus prioribus decanis archidiaconis aliis que prelati ecclesiarum et clericis in regno anglie constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Religio christiana que nunquam retribuere potest deo pro hiis que tribuit ipse sibi maiestati diuine gratum prestat obsequium quando pro ipsius gloria et honore pie deuotionis affectu procurat eorum venerari memoriam qui superno meruerunt munere sociari cetibus beatorum, cum ipsa veritas que est deus, quod vni ex minimis suis fit sibi fieri et in seruis suis se perhibeat honorari. Sane licet beati edmundi regis anglorum et martiris . inclita felix que memoria excellencia regie dignitatis et martirio gloriosa digne sit vbique terrarum populi christiani celebri veneracione colenda : in anglie tamen regno reuerenciori coli debet obsequio ubi rex ipse beatus regalem optinuit sedem et adeptus est tandem martirii dignitatem . Ideo que vniuersitatem vestram rogamus et hortamur attente per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes . . . quatinus dictum gentis vestre regem et martirem a domino vobis datum speciali deuocione colentes diem festiuitatis ipsius annuatim in ecclesijs vestris singuli procuretis sollempniter celebrare, firmam spem fiduciam que tenendo . quod si eum in terris reuerenter

venerati fueritis . ipsum pro vobis aduocatum in celis efficaciter sencietis. *Bulla de translacione sancti edmundi sollempniter ab vniuersis celebranda.* Innocencius . iiij . episcopus seruus seruorum dei venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis ac dilectis filiis abbatibus prioribus decanis archidiaconis aliis que prelati ecclesiarum et clericis in regno anglie constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Religio christiana que nunquam retribuere potest deo pro hiis que tribuit ipse sibi maiestati diuine gratum prestat obsequium quando pro ipsius gloria et honore pie deuotionis affectu procurat eorum venerari memoriam . qui superno meruerunt munere sociari cetibus beatorum ; cum ipsa veritas que est deus quod vni ex minimis suis fit sibi fieri et in seruis suis se perhibeat honorari. Sane licet beati edmundi regis anglorum et martiris inclita felix que memoria excellencia regie dignitatis et martirio gloriosa digne sit vbique terrarum populi christiani celebri veneracione colenda in anglie tamen regno reuerenciori coli debet obsequio . ubi rex ipse beatus regalem optinuit sedem et adeptus est tandem martirij dignitatem. Ideo que vniuersitatem vestram rogamus et hortamur attente per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes . quatinus dictum gentis vestre regem et martirem a domino vobis datum speciali deuocione colentes festum translacionis ipsius annuatim in ecclesijs vestris singuli procuretis sollempniter celebrare . firmam spem fiduciam que tenendo quod si eum in terris reuerenter venerati fueritis ipsum pro uobis aduocatum in celis efficaciter sencietis. Datum Lugduni . iiij . Nonis Iulii pontificatus nostri anno . vj^o . et anno domini . 1248. *Item de translacione sancti edmundi celebranda.* Vniuersis presentes literas inspecturis frater willelmus de claxton . prior ecclesie cathedralis sancte trinitatis Norwici Reuerendi in

Christo patris et domini . domini willelmi dei gracia Norwici
episcopi in remotis agentis . vicarius in spiritualibus generalis
salutem in domino et fidem indubiam presentibus adhibere.
Noueritis quod venerabilis vir magister thomas de methelwold
iuris ciuilis professor dicti patris officialis die lune xxvj .
mensis aprilis anno . domini M^oCC^oC . xliiij^o . in ecclesia cathe-
drali norwici predicta primo et deinde die lune . iij . mensis
maiij eiusdem anni in ecclesia conuentuali sancte trinitatis gip-
pewici norwici diocesis in plenis synodis pasche per eundem
officiale celebratis de mandato nostro vice et auctoritate
dicti domini episcopi ordinauit publicauit ac statui fecit quod
festum translacionis sancti edmundi regis et martiris futuris
temporibus annis singulis sollempniter in singulis ecclesiis
ciuitatis et diocesis norwicensis die penultimo mensis aprilis
cum regimine chori celebraretur annuente ad hoc toto clero in
dictis synodis congregato . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum
quo in huiusmodi vicariatus officio vtimur presentibus duximus
apponendum . Datum apud norwicum die viij dicti mensis maij
anno domini supradicto . Originale istius est ad feretrum in
cistula cum literis indulgenciarum et bullis.

*Incipit vita et passio cum miraculis sancti edmundi regis et martiris
excerpta de cronicis et diuersis historijs seu legendis . de eodem
breuiter et sub compendio compilata.*

De natiuitate sancti Edmundi.

1. *Ex cronicis.* Erat quondam in saxoniam quidam rex alkmundus nomine, magnus quidem diuiciis et potencia et in bello per omnia strenuus et victoriosus qui quamuis egregius et nobilis in regali successione haberetur . in ceremonijs tamen catholice pro-

fessionis sic principari nouit super homines . ut non obliuisceretur qualem subieccionem creatori suo deberet . set omnia que ad dei cultum pertinebant iuxta humanam possibilitatem studiosius agebat . habebat nam que coniugem in benediccione seminis abrahe reginam pulcherimam in vxorem . nomine siwaram in moribus et fidei calore sibi consimilem. Ex istis igitur radicibus virentes ramusculi procedebant et suo more sicut liliū fragrantiam sanctitatis expandentes pululabant quorum quidam tiranni (†terram) anglie signis et miraculis multipliciter illustrabant. Contigit igitur eundem regem premonitum tamen in sompnis ab angelo quodam tempore versus romam causa deuocionis et oracionis iter arripere et ibidem peracta oblacione cum quadam matrona spiritu prophecie decorata pernoctando sacra familiaritate delectari cuius colloquio dum idem rex vteretur globus solaris in quatuor partes extendens radios de pectore regis exire dicte matrone apparebat vnde et coniciebat ipsum regem a vero sole sublimandum . vel stirpem diuinitus insignitam a suo sanguine processuram et humana corda in Christi amorem circumquaque accensurum . valedicens igitur reuerende matrone domum reuersus est paucis que diebus euolutis regina concepit et congruo tempore anno videlicet ab incarnatione domini . DC^oCCXLJ^o . in quadam regia ciuitate saxonie que norhemberges nuncupatur peperit filium nomine edmundum a deo preelectum et omni sanctitate sublimandum quod quidem nomen anglie et latine significat felicem et mundum. Postea vero succrescente etate magis ac magis . in dei amore proficiebat et ei de bono in melius placere gestiebat . fuit autem forma precipuus corpore castus . mente deuotus . colloquio affabilis aspectu amabili prudencia egregius et temperancia clarus. Et quia diuina dispensacione agitur ut quos vocat hos et iustificat . iam eum in omni virtute

et amore christiane professionis talem efficere voluit qualem postea per sanguinis sui effusionem auscipere dignatus est.

Qualiter electus fuit et consecratus in regem estanglorum. Galfridus libro de infancia sancti Edmundi.

Per idem tempus quidam sancti edmundi predecessor . rex estanglorum et nomine offa . multo tempore sine herede vitam transiens . crebra meditatione proposuit sancta loca ierosolimis inuisere et sepulcrum Christi adorare heredem que ab eo secundum eius nutum sibi impetrare . Disposuit etiam se profecturum per alkmundum cognatum suum regem saxonie cuius sibi perutile didicerat fore consilium ad perficiendum illud iter tam arduum . Ad quem perueniens honore regio susceptus est . et a regni primatibus plurimum honori habitus vt pote rex et regis saxonie cognatus cuius obsequio duo regis filij deputantur quorum natu posterior edmundus supranominatus speciali solertia regis excubiis inherens propensiori cura quam patri proprio ministrabat . || Considerans itaque rex peregrinus iuuenem studiosum et elegantem et toto annusu (?annisu) sibi famulantem eius delectabatur colloquio et gratulabatur obsequio . Et quia inter omnes studiosius ei obsecutus est pociori super omnes remuneratione ab eo donatus est . Dispositis interim peregrinationi necessariis valedicens regi et magnatibus saxonie accepta abeundi licencia a cunctis Christo comendatur . Tamen cordis amorem erga iuuenem edmundum pandens . et coram cunctis eum amplectens anulum aureum illi porrexit . sepius que deosculans dixit . Edmunde fili karissime accipe nostre cognationis et mutue dileccionis monumentum vt memineris me solerti . tuo obsequio esse obnoxium super quo gratias tibi refero et mercedem paternam ex dei prouidencia in corde tibi reseruo . || Cum igitur Edmundus alacris accepisset anulum . pater eius

carnalis subrisit eique alludendo dixit. Eya edmundè siccine me reiecto elegisti regem estanglorum in patrem . amodo sicut filio tibi prouideat et tua ei solercia sicut patri adhereat. Quorsus michi hominem educare alienum . delectatus itaque rex peregrinus huiusmodi responsi allogijs iterum edmundum amplexibus mulcet et oculis . et alium anulum demonstrans ab episcopo acceptum in regni sui promocione . intuere inquit iam omnino mi fili edmundè cuiusmodi sit anulus iste vt si absens aliquid tibi per hoc intersignum intimaui . tu filiali non differas complere obsequio. Vt enim astancium percepit multitudo . habeo tibi prouidere sicut filio karissimo. Discedens igitur cum apparatu non modico arduo itinere et prolixo post multos labores emenso sancta ierosolimorum loca iuxta votum attingit . et laudum pariter et oracionum libamina sedulus optulit. Quibus expletis . cum familia sua regreditur alacris et letus. Set cum ad locum qui brachium sancti Georgij dicitur pervenisset . langore correptus : his verbis suos alloquitur. Vt in rege eligendo omnis inter vos obstruatur contencio michi successorum vobis strenuum designo gubernatorem . cognati scilicet . mei regis saxonie filium edmundum vobis non incognitum . morum honestate preditum corporis forma elegantem sapiencia et viribus prestantem. Anulum quoque pretaxatum eis porrexit . et ut edmundò pro intersigno deferrent precepit. Deinde percepta ab eis fide cum sacramentis pro hiis que iniunxerant complendis . inter manus eorum sacro munitiis (! munitus) viatico animam exalauit. Quo sepulto . saxoniam gradu citato repedarunt . et regis defuncti mandata per intersignum porrigentes edmundò . quasi ui exactoria illum in regem estanglie pecierunt Rex vero cognati eius regis agnita (! morte) . tristatus est . cui vtriusque ordinis populus condoluit filium suum vero

edmundum in tam remotam patriam mittere detrectans consilium super hoc ab episcopis suis interrogat. Qui omnes laudant in commune vt dispositioni non refragetur diuine asserentes esse scriptum . non est sapiencia non est consilium contra dominum. Rex igitur predictę matrone presagium reducens ad memoriam se in lacrimis dedit . et predictę petitioni clementer consensit. Tandem angli regium assensum adepti deducentes edmundum comitante dei gracia recesserunt. Cumque diuertentes ad borialem partem orientalium anglorum intrassent oceanum appulerunt ad promontorium quoddam paruum et pulcrum quod vsque hodie maydenboure appellatur . et latine virginalis thalamus interpretatur. A quo promontorio quasi ad vnus sagitte iactum siccum pedestres transmeauerunt fluminis alueum felix igitur aduena edmundus procumbens in spaciosa iuxta flumen planicie oracionem specialiter pro patria illa fudit: cuius oracionis virtutem terra adiacens ostendit. Nam villa cui pertinet locus vbi applicuit et orauit vberiores segetes ex agricultura pre aliis terris estanglie habere consuevit . vbi eciam mox vt ab oracione surrexit et equum ascendit . duodecim fontes limpidissimi de terra eruperunt qui ad huc moderno tempore non sine intuencium admiratione decurrunt et delectabili ac festino murmure iugiter defluentes in salo descendunt. Quorum aquis plurimi languidi abluti pristine sanitati sunt restituti. Remotis eciam pro infirmitate siue alia incomodi de causa ad potandum efficax sanitatis eorundem fontium defertur aqua. Postquam vero edmundus regnum optinuit . locum illum familiariter dilexit . ac prope fontes in eminenti loco regale domicilium condidit. Eadem vero villa honystanestoun congruo nomine nuncupatur cuius nomen pulchre interpretationi aptatur. Mellee

etenim petre villa sonat ab (†ob) virorum videlicet inibi conuersancium . dulcedinem et virium inexpugnabilem fortitudinem. Viri itaque memorati deduxerunt edmundum caute . ad quandam urbem antiquam iuxta priorum tradicionem a rege athla conditam que athleburgh eius dicitur ex nomine i.e. ciuitas athle. Vniuersalis vero inimici membris agentibus et pro regni estanglorum apice prepostere decartantibus infra ipsius urbis menia per annum integrum deguit . psalmis et oracionibus et piis aliis operibus diligenter vacans. In quo spacio psalterium quod in saxoniam inceptorat perdidicit. *Ex cronica hounden et hunsedoñ.* Interea sinister rumor regionem impleuit et inhabitantes timor ingens perculit . transmarini etenim quidam piratice crudelitati insistentes eiusdem prouincie crebris irruptionibus depopulabantur fines . set et regum collateralium ambicio audita morte regis offe minabatur eandem prouinciam vel suo subiacere (sic MS. †subdicere) imperio vel lamentabili disperdere exterminio. Conuocato igitur populo de rege eligendo questio agitur. Quem hunberthus vel hunferthus elamensis (†elmamensis) episcopus cum primoribus alloquitur . asserens testante senescalco regis offe . qui in morte eius presens erat Edmundum regis saxonie filium et defuncti regis estanglie propinquum regno fore necessarium et dignum eiusdemque regis defuncti mandatum intimat et eorum assensum super hoc impetrat. Omnes igitur maiores et minores pari consensu ad prefatam urbem cucurrerunt et Edmundum rapientes . ad suthfolchiam deduxerunt . et in villa de bure ad regni fastigium promouerunt. Assistente prefato antistite ipsum in regem vngente et consecrante in die nativitatis domini anno etatis sue xvº . et ab incarnatione anno dccclvjº dominica existente.

¶ *De causa Martirii Sancti edmundi. Nicholaus prior de Warengford.*

Beatus igitur Edmundus adeptus culmen regiminis in estanglia regiam maiestatem non solum armis decorauit set et legibus equitatis ornavit. Studuit que subiectam plebem ab infestancium incursibus armis protegere et in ocio legibus iuris et equitatis informare. Nec dominantis licencia presumptit aliquando abuti vel innoxios deprimendo vel noxios impunitate in ausu nephario fouendo set equa lance fouisit innocentes et nocentes a regno suo perturbauit. Et cum omnes homines sciret ex nature beneficio parilitate gaudere ex reatus exigencia nichilominus attendit esse quod quidam sunt inferioris quidam superioris potestatis in populo dei. Ideo que imperium suum non natalibus ingenuis non meritis propriis set subiectorum suorum ascripsit erratibus et peccancium obuencionibus totum que se inpendit non delicijs affluentibus set negocijs subditorum casualiter emergentibus. et in dies confluentibus. Nec credidit officij fore regij domesticis operam dare negocijs nisi prius expeditis alienis. *Ex alia legenda.* Erat autem statura procerus decorus facie manu strenuus laborum paciens ingenio perspicax. prouidus in consiliis in iudicijs adhibita moderacione clemencie iustus. affabilis verax et dulcis eloquio patientibus vera compassione misericors ad egenos beneficijs pupillis et viduis clementissimus benignus et mitis ad omnes et quod hiis omnibus maius est legem dei per omnia sequebatur. *Abbo Floriac.* Cumque tam conspicuus Christo et ecclesie emineret bonorum actuum ornamentis humani generis inimicus quosdam ex suis membris ei aduersarios inmisit qui fidem Christi sibi excuterent. et paciencie per-

seueranciam subtrahentes . fructum bone voluntatis auferrent. *Galfridus de Fontibus de infancia sancti Edmundi* . ffuerunt autem idem aduersarij inguuar et vbba gentiles et pagani filii regis Danorum lothbroci nomine qui riuus odiosus interpretatur. Isti cum multis alijs in aquilonali sinu dacorum propter gothos commanentes ex antiqua consuetudine piraticam rabiem exercentes latrociniis et depredacionibus ex toto se mancipauerant et plures prouincias crudeli exterminio dederant. Est enim gens mole corporis ardua et fortis armorum genere terribilis . gothorum soboles et dictos se putant dacos quasi dagos de gothorum videlicet stirpe creatos. ¶ Qui tamen non tantum confidebant in armis quantum in vbbe demoniacis artibus et in quibus imbuebatur maleficiis et virulentis prestigijs . fuit enim ex toto minister iniquitatis et sibi obsequentibus artis matheseos magister. Tanta que securitate huic arti inoleuerat quod hostili exercitui appropinquans diceret Erigite me in altum vt superuideam exercitum Quem si contingeret circumspicere continebat aduersam partem pessumire illo magicis quibusdam artibus preualente . non quia efficaciam habeant huius artis maleficia nisi ex dei cuncta disponentes prouidencia et ex merito patientis hominis miseria. ¶ Quadam igitur die dum fraudulentum filij patri nequam assisterent de probitate maligna et insolencia sua superbe conferentes . pater eorum cum indignacione dixit . pro nichilo inflati estis et in ventum verba profertis. Quid enim dignum adquisistis memoria inter tot preliorum discrimina. Certe quidam iuuenis edmundus nuper a saxonibus descendens anglicos ad sinus cum paucis appulit et regnum estanglie pro velle disponit. Quid vos vmquam simile peregistis O qualis genitura mea in vobis. Illi itaque tam inuidia inflati quam paterna exprobacione verecundati

machinabantur ab illo die siquando oportunitas se optulerit beatum Edmundum aut in sententiam suam trahere et potencie sue subiugare aut mortis supplicio trucidare. ¶ *Ex croniciis Westm. et Norwici et Hely.* Postea quadam die pater eorum lothbrocus cum accipitre solus breuem nauiculam ingressus vt in insulis maris et terre vicinis anates et auiculas alias aucuparet. subita tempestate suborta intra maris latitudinem raptus. diebus aliquot cum noctibus huc illuc que deiectus grauiter vexabant (?vexabatur). Qui tandem plurima maris pericula perpessus in angliam proiectus est et in prouinciam estanglorum que northfolchia dicitur apud Redham villam applicuit et ab hominibus regionis cum accipitre solus inuentus regi estanglorum edmundo miraculo presentatur et ab ipso rege cum honore receptus aliquam diu in curia eius remansit. Et quoniam lingua danorum anglicane lingue vicina est lothbrocus regi cepit narrare quo casu in angliam proiectus fuisset. Placuerunt itaque lothbroco in rege edmundo morum plenitudo et milicie disciplina quamplurimum simul et curialitas astancium ministrorum quos regalis industria in omni rerum ornatu et scemate verborum pleniter informauit. Ad hanc quoque lothbrocus morum disciplinam licet paganus prouocatus rogabat regem propensius vt sibi liceret in eius curia demorari ut regis posset plenius instrui disciplinis. Cumque rex edmundus petitionem eius clementer exaudisset iunxit se lothbrocus venatori regis nomine berno vt artem venatoriam in qua erat eruditus ad plenum. cum ipso frequentaret Erat enim tam in aucupacione quam in venacione graciosus vnde in auibus et bestiis capiendis omnia pro voto sibi succedebant. Capiebat quicquid volebat et mensam regis delicatissimis ferculis persepe ditabat Et cum fuisset a rege in quantum eius gentilitas per-

misit dilectus . cepit venator regis ei grauiter inuidere pro eo quod in artibus predictis ipsum in omnibus superabat. Quadam igitur die dum venatum pariter irent . venator ipsum lothbrocum interfecit et in densitate nemoris interfectum abscondit. Quo facto . recessit venator nequissimus et canes cornicando ad se vocauit. Nutriuerat autem lothbrocus leporarium quendam in curia regis edmundi qui ipsum vt fieri solet multum dilexit et venatore cum ceteris canibus recedente . ille solus cum corpore domini sui remansit In crastino quoque cum rex sederet ad mensam et inter ceteros commilitones lothbrocum non vidisset . quesuit propensius a ministris quid de illo actum fuisset. Cui venator bernus dixit quod die hesterna cum de venatu domum rediret . ipse remansit in silua post eum et quod eum postea non viderit asserebat. Sed vix verba compleuerat et ecce leporarius quem nutriuerat lothbrocus regiam ingressus aulam omnibus et maxime regi adulante cauda applaudere satagebat. Quem rex cum vidisset . astantibus dixit. Ecce canis lothbroci adueniens dominum suum venientem preuenit. Et pre gaudio rex canem diligenter pauit sperans per eum eius dominum aduenturum set secus contigit quam sperabat . nam illico cum leporarius siciatus fuisset reuersus est ad dominum suum et iuxta corpus eius consuetas excubias celebravit. Qui iterum post triduum fame compellente ad mensam regis ingressus est denuo reficiendus. Rex vehementer admirans iussit insequi vestigia canis si recederet ab aula et diligenter quo pergeret explorare . ffactum est autem a ministris vt eis a rege fuerat imperatum. Et canem recedentem subsequentes ad lothbroci corpus exanime sunt perducti. Cumque hec regi declarata fuissent perturbatus est vehementer et facta inquisitione de morte eius bernum venatorem de opere nephando conuicit. Et

iussit a militibus de curia sua adiudicari . ac legis peritis quid de homicida foret agendum . Et omnes in hoc pariter consenserunt vt venator in illa naucula in qua lothbrocus in angliam applicuit poneretur et in medio maris solus sine omni instrumento nauali dimitteretur . Itaque venator iuxta quod sententiatum fuerat in mare dimissus post dies paucos in daciam est proiectus . qui cum a portuum custodibus inuentus fuisset cognouerunt nauculam dani quod in illa dominus eorum lothbrocus consueuerat aucupari . et perduxerunt eum ad inguar et vbbam filios lothbroci viros potentes et crudeles. Qui continuo adhibitis tortoribus exegerunt a berno quid de patre suo qui in illa naucula ab eis fuerat subtractus actum fuisset . bernus quoque grauit et diu diuersis afflictus tormentis fingens mendacium dixit quod pater eorum cum casu applicuisset in angliam . a rege estanglorum edmundio inuentus et ipso iubente fuerat interfectus. At illi de morte patris sui perturbati et alias ex paterna exprobacione et inuidia inflammati iurauerunt per omnipotentes deos suos quod exprobacionem illam et patris sui mortem non relinquerent impunitas . bernum quoque venatorem qui in naucula patris sui aduenerat . constituerunt ductorem suum vt se in regem edmundum vindicarent.

¶ *De adventu danorum in estangliam quos sanctus edmundus expugnabat et ab estanglia repellebat. Ex cronicis Westm. Ely houdene et mariani.*

Anno igitur ab incarnatione domini deccc° . lxxv° . et anno regni sancti Edmundi decimo Inguar et vbbas cum berno comitantibus regibus paganis . halfdene oskitel bagseg . hosten eowils hamund . et Guthrun . cum viginti milibus armatorum

mare cum nauibus ingressi versus regionem estanglie vela direxerunt et arma vt se in regem Edmundum de morte illa penitus insontem vltum irent. Sed ventis in contrarium classem inpellentibus . in scocia apud berwike super twedam compulsi sunt applicare vbi premeditatam seuiundo depopulationem inchoauerunt . pueros et senes quos que sibi obuicos iugulauerunt. Sanctimoniales virgines et matronas ludibrio tradendas mandauerunt ecclesias et monasteria et ministros illorum ferro et flammis consumpserunt. Omnis quippe nacio omnis condicio omnis professio que Christum confitebatur . erat illis quasi publicus hostis quia in fidem catholicam grassabantur et quos dei cultores esse nouerant omnino delere aut seruituti eos subiugare nitebantur. *Houdene.* Deinde circum annum xj . regni sancti Edmundi ad estangliam nauigio peruenientes et per totum annum nunc mari nunc terra circueuntes monasteria ciuitates et villas incendiis et cedibus deuastabant. Equos vero de exercitu sancti edmundi et de prouincialibus sibi rapientes equestres facti sunt . et prout audebant circum circa discurrentes cunta pessumdabant. Ex hiis tamen cotidie plures non sine magno sanguine ab exercitu sancti edmundi valide semper interficiebantur. *Ex cronicis.* Quadam namque vice cum quidam illorum sanctum edmundum in quodam castro suo residere cognoscerent . castrum statim molientes euertere obsederunt. Cum vero in obsidione obsessi et obsidentes dira fame laborarent . ne inopiam suorum pagani perciperent . sanctus edmundus multum frumentum proici precepit et taurum quendam qui pinguis infra castrum pascabatur frumento mundo saturari et bene pastum ultra muros statim pagani ad diripiendum iussit exponi Et hec auide rapta († hoc . . . rapto) dum taurus discissus et pene crudis († crudus)

paganis famelicis deuorandus aptaretur . recenti frumento intestina eiusdem tauri repleta reperierunt. ¶ Estimantes igitur pagani obsessos omni copia ciborum habundare vt pote qui animalia sua frumento pascere clam timidi recesserunt. Quos sanctus rex cum suo exercitu insequens plures eorum interfecit. ¶ Alia vice dum pagani clam in abditis siluarum vndique locum quo sanctus rex in non tuto subito venerat circumdedissent et quidam illius loci quo sanctus erat eis dilatorie timore cum pecunia indicassent cum vix suorum aliquem secum haberet . siluis que ac aquis vel paludibus profundis vndique circumdaretur . iuxta flumen quo erat quatuor vene aquarum semper deinceps fluentes eruperunt. Deinde rex per vadum ante incognitum quod modo derneforde i.e. latens vadum dicitur transiit . sicque ad suos veniens ipsos coadunauit et celeriter super eosdem incredulos irruit et eos prostrauit. Item relacione plebis refertur quoniam dum vice quadam in quodam municipio suo forti moraretur exercitus paganorum prouinciam subito ingressi . illuc aduolant et castrum obsident. Prospicientes vero quod castrum eis inexpugnabile esset . recedere decreuerunt set quidam latomus pre senectute cecus . quem inter prebendarios rex sanctus pascebat . mercede ductus . infirmiore locum castri . quo murum (? murus) facilius insultantibus cederet . indicauit . quoniam ipse olim construccionis muri illius prepositus fuerat. Cumque sanctus rex machinis inpellentibus murum cedere cognosceret equo veloci per portam inter turmas paganorum exiit. Cum ergo insequeretur a longe ab eis inquisitus vbi rex esset . respondit . velociter redite quia cum ego in castello eram . tunc rex ibi erat. Hoc audientes . eum insequi omiserunt et celeriter ad perscrutandum castellum pro capcione regis re-

dierunt. Quem cum minime reperissent tunc primo cognouerunt quod ipse rex locutus eis esset . cuius timore statim discedere parauerunt quoniam eius reditum cum exercitu collecto exterminabilem sibi formidauerunt. Et cum furtim inde se subtraherent . rex sanctus cum exercitu rediit et omnes male dilacerauit nisi qui fuge presidio se saluare potuerunt. Sicque post varios euentus bellorum et magnos sudores sancti et exercitus eius exire ab illa regione coacti sunt. *Ex cronicis Ely Houdene et Mariani.* ¶ Postea de orientali anglia tercio aduentus sui anno ad eboracum per mare migrauerunt et ibi pars . maxima northanimbrensiu duobus regibus osbrutho et alla . occisis occubuit. Qui vero euaserunt pacem cum paganis pepigerunt. *Ex cronicis Westmon.* ¶ Quarto autem anno northimbros relinquentes snotijngam et merciam adierunt vbi per annum hijemantes loca sanctorum et monasteria seruorum et ancillarum dei depredantes combusserunt. Cumque per omnes fines regnorum tanta paganorum immanitas desseminata fuisset . ebba sancta collinghamensis cenobij abbatissa metuens ne ipse cum suis sororibus ludibrio traderetur paganorum conuocatis eisdem sororibus dixit. Aduenerunt ad partes nostras pagani nequissimi qui loca singula perlustrantes nec sexui femineo nec paruulorum parcunt etati Ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas destruunt . feminas sanctimoniales prostituunt et obuia sibi queque consumunt. Itaque si consiliis meis adquiescere decreueritis . barbarorum rabiem effugere valebimus . et perpetuam virginitatem custodiemus. Cui cum vniuersa congregacio spondisset suis in omnibus obtemperare preceptis . Illa mox arrepta nouacula nasum proprium cum labro superiori ad dentes vsque prescidit et horrendum de se spectaculum astantibus prebuit. Quod factum sorores admirantes simili de se statim

opere a singulis perpetrato materna vestigia sunt secute. Et hiis gestis venerunt tiranni vt sanctas feminas ludibrio traderent et spoliatum monasterium concremarent. Set conspicientes abbatissam et sorores singulas tam enormiter mutulatas (? mutilatas) cum festinatione recesserunt et recedentes igne iniecto monasterium cum officinis et ipsis virginibus concremarunt. In hac quoque persecucione destructa fuerunt nobilissima . monasteria scilicet lindisfarnense monachorum in quo sedes tunc erat cathedralis . quam beatus cuthbertus sacra sui corporis presencia (? adornavit) . tijnemuense sanctimonialium . Girwense Weremuthense monachorum in quibus beda doctor educatus erat. Streneshalense sanctimonialium quod sancta hilda abbatissa fundavit. Et iterum anno quinto eboracum redierunt ibi que per annum manserunt insanientes debachantes et plures viros ac mulieres occidentes.

¶ *Qualiter iterum ad estangliam redierunt. Ex cronicis Ely et Westm.*

Sexto igitur anno ab aduentu illorum in angliam et anno regni sancti edmundi XV°. versus estangliam repedantes vt se in sanctum edmundum vindicarent . monasteria . Crulandie thorneie burgi sancti petri ramescie et segham monachorum et elij sanctimonialium quod beata etheldreda construxerat . cum omnibus qui intus erant ferro et flammis destruxerunt. *Warengforde ex cronicis Westm.* Cumque maximas partes ab occidentali aquilone . depopulando peragrassent . relicto vbba ad sarcinas cum spoliis et prediis innocentium Ingwar cum multitudine armatorum ad estangliam perueniens apud quandam ciuitatem sancti Edmundi thefordiam . nomine castra metatus est. *Abbo Floriac.* Quam latenter ignaris ciuibus introgressus . ignibus

cremandam dedit . pueros senes cum iunioribus obuam factos iugulat et matronalem seu virginalem pudiciam ludibrio tradendam mandat. Maritus cum coniuge mortuus aut moribundus iacebat in limine, infans raptus a matris vberibus trucidabatur coram maternis obtutibus. Cumque tyrannus ex multitudine interfectorum cruentam rabiem aliquantulum exsaturasset . quosdam plebeios aduocat quos suo gladio credidit esse indignos et de regis Edmundi conuenit facultate potestate et fortitudine ac vbi moram faciat et quanto sit stipatus milite . quanta fretus emissariorum virtute sollicitus inuestigat. Sciebat tamen quod idem rex edmundus viribus et armis per omnia esset strenuus ac in omni corporis dimensione simul et proceritate incomparabilis et in Christi amore summe deuotus . et ideo festinabat passim neci tradere quos circumquaque poterat reperire . ne multo stipatus militum agmine ad patrie et fidei sue defensionem posset rex sibi resistere. Et quamuis esset more piratarum ferox et crudelissimus opum que et mundane suppellectilis cupidissimus summo tamen et precipuo desiderio estuabat delere fidem Christi . . . Audiens igitur quod rex edmundus apud eglesdene alio nomine horne eo tempore moram faceret accitum vnum ex commilitonibus ad eum dirigit iubens primo blandicijs cor eius allici vt spreto deo suo . ydolatrie se det . pariter et Ingwar maiestati . et mediatis thesauris suis cum eo subterfugiat illius indignacionem sub eo regnaturus . ac interim sub blandiciarum pallio exploretur virium eius potestatis thesaurorum facultas et loci municio si sit expugnabilis vel inexpugnabilis veniens itaque ad regem miles tyranni nuncius sic eum alloquitur . dominus meus vbique metuendus Ingwar rex danorum . inuictissimus diuersas terras subiciendo sibi armis ad huius prouincie litus cum multis nauibus hie

maturus appulit tibi que mandat monet ac consulit ut tue saluti providens deo tuo renuncies . et colas que colit ydola et thesauros tuos cum eo dimidies eius que voluntati te et regnum tuum per omnia subicias . quod si neglecto eius imperio de tuis viribus presumpseris et rebellare disposueris tuo preiudicio vita priuaberis et regno . proinde communicato cum tuis consilio velocius elige quod tue saluti expediat . pariter et honori . Rex hiis auditis alto cordis dolore ingemuit et episcopum hunberthum quem secum habebat familiarem seorsum vocauit et quid facto sit opus consulit dicens . O serue dei viui hunberthe et dimidium anime mee . ecce aduentus barbarorum et crucis Christi inimicorum iminet (imminet) qui dulcem patriam cum suis habitatoribus iam pro parte desolatam funditus delere conantur . set ecce me occumbente vtinam subiectus michi populus viuus euadere potuisset . nam ego pro amore regni temporalis vel lucro vite presentis non me subiciam tyranno gentili . cum pro fide moriens et patria . miles possim effici et signifer regis eterni .

Warengford. Cui episcopus secrete respondit . domine rex si aliquod occurreret diffugium . quo possemus saluare animas nostras presidio fuge . possemus dedicionem subterfugere . set quia duorum alterum iminet (imminet) videlicet aut . mors aut dedicio . de duobus malis tollerabilius est eligendum . et ideo laudo quatinus fide catholica seruata tyranno pro tempore te subdas et instans discrimen dedicionis occasione declines . Nam belli presidio non potest tanta classis in tempore breuitatis repelli quia et nos imparati sumus et aduersarius exertus est ad prelium . *Abbo Floriac.* ¶ Cumque episcopus timidus pro vita regis . hiis et huiusmodi consilijs et plurimis hortaretur exemplis vt tyrannum cautela simulacionis eluderet . rex obstipo capite defigens lumina terris .

altaque trahens suspiria paululum conticuit . et sic demum ora resoluit . O episcope viui ad id peruenimus quod nunquam veriti sumus . ecce barbarus aduena districto ense veteribus regni nostri colonis iminet (imminet) . et quondam felix indigena suspirando gemens tacet . Et vtinam in presenciarum viuendo quique gement nec cruenta cede perirent quatinus eciam me occumbente superstites fierent et ad pristinae felicitatis gloriam postmodum redirent . Cui episcopus . Quos inquit rex mi dilectissime optas habere superstites patrie . cum iam hostilis gladius vix aliquem reliquerit in plena vrbe . hebetatis securibus tuorum cadaueribus . te destitutum milite veniunt loris constringere . Quapropter nisi fuge presidio . aut dedicionis infasto patrocinio precaueas hic statim aderunt tortores nephandissimi qui te cum tibi subiectis auferre de medio conabuntur . Ad hec rex beatissimus . hoc est ait quod desidero et votis omnibus antepono ne supersim meis fidelibus carissimis et amicis . quos cum liberis et vxoribus perdidit pirata truculentus . ¶ Et quid suggeris vt in extremo vite desolatus meo satellite fugiendo glorie nostre crimen inferam ? Semper delatorie accusacionis calumpniam euitau . nunquam relicte milicie probra sustinui . Et nunc ero mei voluntarius proditor cui pro eterna vita consequenda et carorum amissione lux ista est fastidio ? O episcope omnipotens rerum arbiter testis assistit . quod me seu viuum seu mortuum nullus separabit a caritate Christi . cuius in confessione baptismatis suscepi anulum fidei abrenunciato sathana et omnibus pompis eius . *Ex alia legenda.* Decet enim Christianum quemque semper esse memorem professionis sue et assidua meditacione reuoluere quod quanto plura et maiora quis recepit a domino . tanto de vniuersis et singulis districciorem redditurus est rationem . Cum ergo

spiritus sancti trinam receperim vnccionem. Primam quidem in baptismo . secundam per impositionem manus episcopi . terciam in consecratione regni nunquid iustum est vt post tot et tantas gracias diuini muneris incipiam duobus dominis seruire et fiam vas et mancipium diaboli qui semel factus sum templum et membrum Christi ? Tirannus bona promittit temporalia . si paruero si detrectauero supplicia comminatur. Vitam concedit. Hac nondum careo . regnum promittit . hoc habeo . pollicetur opes quibus non indigeo nec eas concupisco. Deus autem est qui solus vtiliter hec qui et quando quomodo et quantum vult vniuersa largitur et fidelibus suis expediencia ministrat ad habundanciam. Et hiis dictis . conuersus ad nuncium dixit. Recede festinus et domino tuo refer quod legem Christi professus pro illa mori paratus sum vnde nouerit quod nisi prius effectus fuerit christianus . nec me nec populum dei prophano duci subiciam. Et si thesauros nostros siue diuicias potenter surripiat me tamen sue infidelitati non subiciet. Honestum est enim perpetuam defendere libertatem simul que fidei puritatem. Pro quibus eciam occumbere non inutile reputamus. Igitur vt cepit superba sua feritas post famulos regem solio diripiat trahat expuat pro Christi nomine colaphis cedat. Ad vltimum eciam iugulet quoniam rex regum hec videns me transferret in celum perhenniter regnaturum.

¶ *De bello inter sanctum Edmundum et Ingwarum prope thefordiam et de modo martirij sancti edmundi. Ex cronica Westmon. et Norwici.*

Recedente itaque nuncio rex edmundus iussit commilitones ad arma conuolare asserens dignum pro fide pariter pugnare et patria ne desertores milicie se esse probarentur et populi delatores. Igitur ad instanciam hunberthi episcopi ac nobilium

virorum ac commilitonum suorum animatus beatissimus rex edmundus cum toto exercitu quem habere potuit confidens de dei auxilio processit audacter in hostes. Et non longe ab vrbe thefordie contra aduersarios sibi in obuiam venientes graue certamen ac nimis vtroque dampnosum commisit. Nempe cum a mane diei vsque ad vesperam mutua se nece prostrauissent et pro nimia interfectorum multitudine sanguine loca certaminis rubuissent piissimus rex edmundus non solum ex strage commilitonum suorum pro patria gente et fide Ihesu Christi decertancium . quos iam martirio coronatos agnouit condoluit . verum eciam pro nece barbarorum infidelium ad inferni baratrum detrusorum nimis amare lugebat. Recedentibus itaque primitus de loco funeris paganis . beatissimus confessor Christi et martir futurus rex Edmundus cum reliquis commilitonum suorum qui superstites erant ad heglesdene reuersus est . inmutabiliter statuens in animo suo se nunquam decetero contra barbaros pugnaturum set hoc solomodo dixit sibi fore necessarium vt solus moreretur pro populo et non tota gens periret. Ingwar igitur cum de strage suis illata inconsolabiter anxiaretur venit ad eum apud theford vbba frater eius cum decem milibus armatorum. Et sic iunctis viribus vt se vindicarent in sanctum regem edmundum versus eglesdene quo rex beatissimus tunc erat castra mouerunt. Hoc audito. *Warengford* . beatus edmundus videns terminum passionis sue iminere (imminere) talibus verbis suos alloquitur. Scio commilitones karissimi quod vim vi repellere omnes leges omnia que iura permittunt set aliud est fori permissio aliud poli institutio. Euangelice quippe non est institucionis sanguinem fundere hostem dimicando propulsare armis inimicos abigere . duo proposuit tiranni legatus . apostasie enormitatem et sub-

ieccionis degenerositatem set a fide Christi nulla me deterrebit persecutio . ad dedicionem nulla emolliet promissio. De cetero angustia temporis non permittit exercitum congregare ut more patrum dimicemus pro patrie libertate et populi liberacione . quia tyrannus iam magna ex parte debilitauit populum nostrum deseuiens vsque ad interempcionem et ad manum iam alium habet exercitum vt irruat in regem et populum inermem . et triumphet de seruis Christi seuissimus Christi persecutor. Ideo pro temporis et casus instantis exigencia necessitas vrgens permutanda est in virtutem et hostis vincendus est pocius paciencia quam ascia humilitate magis quam pugione quia nec Christum negare nec seruituti addici nisi christiane decet Christianum. Ego genti inclite cui presideo quia presidium non possum ferre, possum . pro eis et cum eis mortem subire. Vix sanctus verba compleuerat truculentus Ingwar adueniens iubet circumuallari palacium et regem suo tribunali loris constrictum presentari. *Ex cronis.* Sanctus itaque rex edmundus cum se ab hostibus vndique vallatum cognosceret . de consilio hunberthi episcopi confugit ad ecclesiam vt se membrum Christi ostenderet et armis temporalibus proiectis celestia induit . humiliter patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu deprecans vt in passione sua constanciam et pacienciam sibi largiretur. Igitur a ministris iniquitatis ab ecclesia extrahitur vinctis arcioribus artatus constringitur . atque innocens ducitur ante impium iudicem quasi Christus ante pilatum presidem cupiens eius sequi vestigia qui pro nobis immolatus est hostia. *Warengford.* Et factum est cum astaret coram Ingwar et interrogaretur si Christum confiteretur . intrepidus respondit. Confiteor plane et vnicum deum colo credo in Christum dei filium incarnatum de spiritu sancto . ex virgine maria natum pro salute humani generis crucifixum tercia die

resuscitatum et quadragesima ascendentem in dextera dei patris collocatum . et in fine seculi venturum viuos et mortuos iudicaturum . bene promeritis vitam eternam . non credentibus et perditis viuentibus iehennam redditurum . ab eius caritate non separabit me gladius persecutoris . non blandimentum promissionis non mors . non uita . non preterita non instantia . non futura discrimina. Istam fidem in qua adoleui non desero . degenerem seruitutem non subeo . thesauros nostros non dimidio set integros expono . de donariis tuis ditescere penitus respuo quia ad pociores diuicias aspiro . quas nec vetustas reddit viliores nec habendi assiduitas abiecciores . que de innata suauitate semper ingerunt desiderium . de sacietate continua nunquam generant fastidium . que principium norunt set finem nullum, que de temporali dono nec proueniunt . nec de voluntate tolluntur . de cetero igitur profiteri dominum quem non habeo in fide socium . nec sanguinis permittit generositas . nec alacritas fidei christiane. Toto igitur malignitatis tue debachare spiritu . et inuenies manus tuas inualidas ad inferenda tormenta que pro fide Christi et populi mei libertate perferam. ¶ Ad hec tirannus furore succensus pariter et indignacione debriatus iussit fustibus cedi sanctum regem edmundum . vinctus itaque fustibus crudelissime ac diutissime ceditur deficiunt que carnifices in torquendo set sanctus non lacescit in orando . nec deficit in paciendo. Set dolorem omnem calore fidei temperat et Christum indefessa voce inclamitat. Porro tortores non ferentes salutiferum nomen Christi ab eo indesinenter inuocatum ad quandam arborem vicinam alligant Christi confessorem et stantes eminus quasi ludendo ad signum sagittas mittunt ad regium corpus et vulnera uulneribus infligentes geminant dolorem ex ictibus inidem geminatis. *Abbo Floriac.* Sicque factum est vt spicu-

lorum terebratis aculeis circumfossus palpitans horreret velut asper ericius aut spinis hirtus carduus in passione similis sebastiano egregio martiri. Nam sicut ericius in cute densis armatur spinis ita corpus inuicti regis spiculis configitur et sagittis. *Ex alia legenda.* In hiis omnibus animus in Christo nobilis dilatatur carnis infirmitas de vigore spiritus inualescit ad penam et in ipsa passionis angustia inter ipsas carnificum manus gloriosus Christi confessor de fidei persecutore triumphat. Cumque sanctum dei martirem conspiceret iniquus Ingwar nec suis persuasionibus assensum prebere set in fide Christi et confessione sancte trinitatis constanter perseuerare. vertitur in furorem dentibus stridet tremit corpore et lictori mandat protinus vt amputet capud eius. Ille seminecem cui adhuc vitalis calor. intrepido (? in tepido) palpitabat pectore vt vix posset subsistere auellit cruento stipite festinus auulsis que detectis costarum latebris pre punccionibus crebris ac si raptum eculeo aut seuis tortum vngulis iubet capud extendere regali quondam insignitum diademate. Cumque staret mitissimus vt aries. de toto grege electus volens felici commercio mutare vitam seculo diuinis intentus beneficiis iam recreabatur visione interne lucis qua in agone positus saciari cupiebat attencius. *Warengford.*

¶ Et impetrato orandi spacio breuem fudit oracionem dicens. Deus qui de beneplacito tuo non de nostro merito filium tuum carne vestiri et affigi patibulo voluisti. non solum ad caritatis exemplum set maxime ad peccati remedium. da michi in passionis mee articulo constanciam et vsque in finem in caritate perseueranciam nec truculentus Ingwar se vicisse gaudeat si me capite mutilet set ille potius in te et de te gaudeat qui de hoste paciendo triumphet. Non enim victoriosum est quod serui tui occidi possunt set magis quod flecti nequeunt. Ecce ceruix mea

vibrantis expectat gladium tu vero suscipe spiritum meum quem anglorum cohors post ferientis ictum deferat in paradysum tuum. Et completa oracione spiculator arripiens pugionem capud absceidit regium. Christo que consecrauit martirem persecutor inuisus quem in regem consecrauerat episcopalis manus. *Abbo Floriac.* ¶ Sic que xij. kalend decembris indiccione . iij. feria . ij. luna xxiij. anno ab incarnatione domini . deccc. lxx. beatus edmundus anno etatis sue xxix. et regni sui xv. igne passionis examinatus cum palma victorie et corona iusticie rex et martir intrauit senatum curie celestis Tali que exitu crucis mortificationem quam iugiter in suo corpore rex pertulit. Christi domini sui secutus vestigia consummauit. Ille quidem purus sceleris in columpna ad quam vinctus fuit sanguinem non pro se set pro nobis flagellorum suorum signa reliquit. Iste pro adipiscenda gloria inmarcessibili cruentato stipite similes penas dedit. Ille integer vite ob detergendam rubiginem nostrorum facinorum sustinuit benignissimus immanium clauium acerbitatem in palmis et pedibus. Iste propter honorem nominis domini toto corpore grauidis sagittis horridus et medullitus asperitate tormentorum dilaniatus in confessione sancte trinitatis pacienter perstitit quam ad vltimum accepta capitali sententia finiuit. *Ex cronicis.* Passus est autem cum eo comes illius indiuiduus hunberthus elamensis (?elmamensis) antistes qui eum in regni fastigium sublimauerat . et constancia inuicti regis ad martirium animatus cum ipso regni celestis possessor est effectus.

¶ *De absconsione et inuencione capitis sancti edmundi et coniunctione illius ad corpus et de sepultura vtriusque. Abbo Floriac.*

Dani igitur corpus sancti martiris ita truncum et aculeis hirsutum et hispidum relinquentes . capud eius sanctissimum in

siluam vicinam cui nomen est heylesdun recedentes asportauerunt. ac inter densa veprium fructecta longius proiectum occultauerunt id omni sagacitate elaborantes ne a christianis, quos paucos reliquerant, sacratissimum corpus cum capite honeste traderetur sepulture. didicerunt enim Ingwar et vbba pirate nequissimi. lothbrocum patrem suum falsa suggestionem berni venatoris sancti edmundi in silua de medio sublatum fuisse vnde talionem reddere cupientes in silua iam dicta capud eius bestiis et auibus deuorandum ignominiose proiecerunt. *Abbo Floriac.* ¶ Quibus tandem aliquantisper abeuntibus et depopulacioni quoquo locorum operam dantibus. ceperunt christiani de latibulis consurgere diligenti animo satagentes. vt dominum suum regem condigne sepelirent. Corpus igitur regis sanctissimi adhuc sub diuo positum facillime est repertum in eodem campo ubi rex occubuit set capud non inuenientes suspendunt sepulturam donec sollicitiori indagine deprehendant quo capud deuenerit. *Warengford.* ¶ Volente itaque deo dum sanctus rex pateretur quidam catholicus subtractus paganorum gladiis deprope delituit et omnia que agebantur pia curiositate signauit. Quem contigit adesse dum fieret questio de regio capite. nec distulit referre quod danos vidit precisum capud in siluam heylesdum secum deferre set quo reposuerint non deprehendisse. Quo audito, qui aderant siluam perlustrare festinant pro certo credentes quod aliene secte cultores inuidendo nostre fidei sustulissent capud martiris et infra densitatem saltus abscondissent aut vili cespite obrutum aut auibus et feris deuorandum. Inito que consilio decreuerunt quatinus circumcirca peruagantes vocibus aut tubarum ductilium vel cornuorum strepitu mutuo sibi innuerent. ne aut lustrata repeterent aut non lustrata desererent. *Warengford.* ¶ Cumque in hunc modum silue

deuia peruagarentur et singulus ad singulum vt pote socius ad socium alternatim queritans diceret . vbi es vbi es ? capud sancti martiris longius remotum a suo corpore . respondit her . her her . quod interpretatur . hic hic hic . Nec destitit eadem verba repetere . donec omnes qui lustrando dispersi fuerant per silue deuia ad se congregaret . O rem a seculis inauditam et miraculi singularitate stupendam . O mira dei magnalia qui semper et vbique in sanctis suis mirabilis et gloriosus est . Voce igitur ducente peruentum est ab omnibus ad locum vbi capud sanctissimum fuerat occultatum . arida lingua visa est palpitare et intelligibilem formare vocem . illius quidem agitata virtute qui humana verba formauit in ore asine vt prophete vesaniam increparet . Set et hoc miraculum alio fulcitur miraculo . Immanior quippe lupus eo loci inuenitur reuerendum martiris capud brachiis suis amplectens aliarum ferarum voracitatem propulsans et propriam refrenans nec cessit susceptam custodiam nisi multitudini capud querenti . ecce alterum danielem . Ille quippe in medio leonum in lacu positus dei gracia leonum repressit rabiem . iste non inferiori gracia feris expositus et auibus nec feras sensit nec aues immo leoni in voracitate consimilem lupum habuit non voratorem set custodem . Vnanimi igitur deuocione qui conuenerant deferentes capud inuentum ad corpus sanctissimum lupum habuerunt funeris socium vsque ad sepulcri locum . Qui eis a tergo imminens et quasi pro perduto pignore (MS. pugnore) lugens et eiulans prosecutus est eos inpendens obsequium quale potuit martiris sanctitati . Interfuit que funeris obsequio donec cuncta peragerentur neminem ledens a nemine lesus . peractis que de more cunctis qui defuncti contingebant officium . rediit ad siluarum lustra quasi deuocione custodie completa . nec antea

illis in finibus nec postea lupus specie tam terribilis apparuit. Capud igitur sancti regis et martiris coniunctum corpori traditum est sepulture iuxta locum illius martirizacionis. Quo eciam edificata lignea desuper ecclesiola . triginta sex annis in terra defossus idem sanctus martir requieuit humatus. Preciosus igitur rex et martir edmundus post triumphum victorie a domino remunerari meruit corona glorie laureatus. Qui coram tiranno Christum confiteri purpurea (†purpura) regia non eribuit (†erubuit) exutus eundem agnum dei com(m)itatur vbique stola immortalitatis indutus. In cuius ore nec inter fremitus barbarorum nec inter fustes tortorum laus dei valuit cessare . iam inter spiritus angelicos illam non cessat decantare. Capud quod alacriter pro Christo subdidit gladio percussoris . diademate fulget ornatu eximii decoris. Corpus eius crebrarum sagittarum ictibus perforatum . ad indicium quante sit illius anima in celo dignitatis integrum inuiolatum que perseuerat in terra per diuine clemenciam maiestatis.

*De ceco nato ad eius tumultum apud hocne illuminato tempore quo
corpus illius iacuit ibidem.*

Ex libro de miraculis ejus Sampson. Interea quamuis athleta dei edmundus raro coleretur inhabitatore . paulatim tamen regiones finitimas miraculorum illustrabat fulgore et ideo non solum priuatorum set eciam sublimium corda sibi amicuit per signorum inmutata mirabilia. E quibus vnum digne duximus memorasse . vt ex hoc vno plura pensari queant . tum quia neclecti cultus fuit correccio tum quia multorum ora in dei laudes resoluit. Cecus enim quidam a natiuitate cum puero duotore viam carpens saltum quo martir sanctus tumulabatur

ingreditur . quem cum nec dum dimidiasset sole ad occasum tendente tenebre densantur . querule voces ad inuicem conferuntur ; que ceteris leuamen consuevit laboris afferre (peregrinis curarum sollicitudinem nox ipsa parturiebat). Domicilium omne subtrahitur vagus ferarum excursus tutam sub arbore quietem non pollicetur. Inter hec puerulus ceci ductor contiguum e latere domum aduertens euax en ait : modica in presenti discrimine nostris vsibus accomodatur cella. Et cecus ad hec . deo gracias inquit . subeundum est eam. Quam protinus ingressi tumultum beati edmundi martiris offendunt et vt erat sepulturam ibi hominis autumantes . primum vt humanitatis est horripilacione percelluntur deinde presumpta securitate ianuam obicibus artant strauerunt que sibi (?se ibi) tumba martiris vicem ceruicalis ministrante. Nec dum vero plene poterant obdormisse cum subito flammifue columpne splendor habitaculi tocius ambitum occupauit, quo comperto . puer qui solitudine nimirum sollicitante molestas agebat vigilias pauefactus magistrum a sumpno (?somno) excussit dicens. heu heu quid accidit nobis hospicium nostrum flamma consumit. At ille trementem puerum blande compescens . tace inquit tace, ne turberis, fidelis et ydoneus est hospes noster . nichil aduersi sustinebimus quiesce securus. ¶ Cum autem solis ortum prenunciasset aurora . lux celitus emissa redit . set lucis signa ceco reliquit. Qui enim cecus venerat sancti edmundi merito illuminatus ductori suo . ait lucescit adoriamur iter nostrum. A quo pre verbi nouitate stupefacto protinus audiuit. Et vnde tibi lucem enunciare quam semper altero mediante ortam esse didiceras ? lucem quidam nominare nunquid eciam videre consueueras vide sanum sapias. Cuius errorem ille redarguens. 'Tune me,' inquit, 'delirare suspicaris. Res verbis

concinunt. Fidelis est hospes noster'. vale facto igitur hospiti suo digna laude saluatoris referunt clemenciam. Cecus igitur non egens deinceps ductore. suos sibi oculos sufficere gratulatur. Tunc primo sibi nasci putatur cum mundialem conspicatus fabricam singula queque miratur. Propalatur miraculum obuios quosque reddit attentos exultant vniuersi regem et dominum suum sanctum edmundum talibus indicijs virtutum magnificari.

¶ *Qualiter de hoane vsque ad bedricesuuarthe sit translatus et quomodo corpus eius ibidem post xxxvj. annos incorruptum est inuentum.*

Sanctus abbo floriac. Clarescentibus igitur longe lateque miraculis permota orientalis anglie multitudo non solum vulgi set etiam nobilium reminiscens que minus honestam sui regis tumulationem habito consilio in villa regia que lingua anglorum Bedricesuuarthe dicitur. construxit permaximam miro ligneo tabulatu ecclesiam Circa annum vero domini . 900 . tempore regis alfredi vel secundum alios . 906^m tempore regis eduardi senioris ante conquestum primi episcopus cum clero et populi multitudine reuerenter processit ad locum sancti edmundi sepulture . vbi dispositis circa mausoleum honestioribus clericorum personis theca que preciose margarite reserata ligneum am mouentes operculum introspiciunt. Set mox pre visu insoliti miraculi resiliunt atque clamore repentino ceteros ad admirationem inuitant . iacebat enim rex gloriosus et martir edmundus corpore integer similis dormienti. Et cum corpus eius pre nimia temporis prolixitate aridis ossibus in puluerem redactum crederetur ita integrum et incorruptum est repertum ac si eodem

(† die) fuisset sepultum. Capud quoque quod precisum fuerat a corpore in passionis articulo ita corpori loco suo consolidatum et vnitum inuenerunt vt nulla in eo sicut nec in toto corpore macula cicatricis vel alicuius lesionis appareret. In collo tamen subtilis ac rubicunda linea ad modum fili coccinei rutilabat per circuitum vestigium decollacionis representans. Eleuata tandem cum leticia sanctissimi corporis gleba Christo duce cum maxio (maximo) cleri plebis que tripudio . in prefatam transfertur . ecclesiam vbi adhuc in eadem forma expectat beate resurrectionis gaudia repromissa.

JOHN LYDGATE

(MS. Harl. 2278).

PROLOGUE.

Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martir, and vyrgyne,
Hadde in thre vertues by grace a souereyn prys,
Be which he venquysshed al venymes serpentyne.
Adam, baserpent banysshed fro paradys,
Eua also, be-cause she was nat wys,
Eet off an Appyl off fleshly fals plesance :
Which thre figures Edmund by gret auys
Bar in his baner for a remembrance.

Lyk a wys kyng peeplys to gouerne,
Ay vnto reson he gaff the souereynthe :
Figur off Adam wysly to dyscerne,
Toppresse in Eua sensualite ;
A lamb off gold hyh vpon a tre,
An heuenly signe, a tokne off most vertu,
To declare how that humylite
Aboue alle vertues pleseth most Jhesu.

Off Adamys synne was wasshe away the rust
Be vertu only off this lambys blood,
The serpentys venym, and al fleshly lust,
Sathan outraied, ageyn man most wood,
Tyme whan this lamb was offred on the rood

For our redempcioun : to which hauyng reward
This hooly martir, this blyssyd kyng so good,
Bar this lamb hiest a-lofte in his standard.

The feeld off Gowlys was tokne off his suffrance
Whan cruel Dany's were with hym at werre ;
And for a signe off Royal suffisance,
That no vices neuer maad hym erre,
The feeld powdryd with many heuenly sterre
And halff Cressantis off gold, ful bryht and cleer.
And wher that euere he iourneyde, nyh or ferre,
Ay in the feeld with hym was this baner :

Which be influence off our lord Jhesu,
As it hath be preued offte in deede,
This hooly standard, hath power and vertu
To stanche fyres and stoppe flawmys rede,
By myracle : and, who that kan take heede,
God grantyd it hym for a prerogatyff,
Be-cause al heete off lust and fleshlyheede
Were queynt in hym duryng al his lyff.

This vertuous baner shal kepen and conserue
This lond from enmyes, daunte ther cruel pryde ;
Off syxte Herry the noblesse to preserue,
It shal be born in werry's be his syde ;
Tencresse his vertues, Edmund shal been his guyde,
By processe tenhaunce his Royal lyne :
This martir shal by grace for hym prouyde
To be registred among the worthy nyne.

This other standard, feeld stable off colour ynde,
In which off gold been notable crownys thre :
The firste tokne, in cronycle men may fynde,



DAN JOHN LYDGATE

MONK OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS

From a MS. in the Harleian Collection

To face p. 410

Grauntyd to hym for Royal dignyte,
And the seconde for virgynyte,
For martirdam the thrydde in his suffryng;
To these annexyd Feyth, Hope, and Charyte,
In tokne he was martyr, mayde, and kyng.

These thre crownys kyng Edmund bar certeyn
When he was sent be grace off goddis hond
At Geynesburuh for-to slen kyng Sweyn :
By which myracle, men may vndirstond,
Delyuered was fro Trybut al thys lond,
Mawgre Dany, in ful notable wyse :
For the hooly martyr dissoluyd hath that bond,
Set this Regioun ageyn in his franchise.

These thre crownys historyaly taplye,
By pronostyke notably souereyne
To sixte Herry in fygur signefye
How he is born to worthy crownys tweyne :
Off France and Ingland, lynealy tatteyne
In this lyff heer ; afterward in heuene
The thrydde crowne to receyue in certeyne,
For his meritis, aboue the sterrys seuene.

To alle men, present, or in absence,
Which to seynt Edmund haue deuocioun,
With hool herte and dew reuerence
Seyn this Antephne and this Orisoun :
Two hundred daies ys grantid off pardoun,
Write and registred afforn his hooly shryne
Which for our feith suffrede passioun,
Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martir, and virgyne.

Domine rex gentis Anglorum, miles regis angelorum,
O Edmunde, flos martirum, uelud rosa uel lilium, funde
preces ad dominum pro salute fidelium! Ora pro nobis,
beate Edmunde, vt digni efficiamur promissionibus xpi!

Oracio.

Deus ineffabilis misericordie, qui beatissimum Regem Edmundo tribuisti pro tuo nomine Inimicum moriendo vincere, concede propicius familie tue: ut eo interueniente mereatur in se antiqui hostis incitamenta superando extinguere.
Per xpm dominum nostrum. Amen.

BOOK I

PROLOGUE.

The noble story to putte in remembraunce
Of saynt Edmund, martir, maide, and kyng,
With his support my stile I wil auaunce:
First to compile aftir my kunnyng
His glorious lif, his birthe and his gynnyng,
And be discent how that he, that was so good,
Was in Saxonie born of the roial blood.

In rethorik thouh that I haue no flour
Nor no coloures, his story tenlumyne,
I dar not calle to Clio for socour
Nor to the muses that been in noumbre nyne,
But to this martir, his grace to enclyne,
To forthre my penne of that I wolde write:
His glorious lif to translate and endite.

For be sentence of prudent Carnotense
In Enteticon where he doth specesie,
Grace forthereth more than doth eloquence,
Whiche of alle vertues hath the regalie :
For Mercurie nothir Philologie
To-gidre knet and ioyned in mariage,
Withoute grace may haue noon auauntage.

For grace hath power alle vertues to directe—
Withouten whom auailith no prudence :
For this princesse hath fredham to correcte
Al vicious thinges, al slouthes, al negligence,
Which halt the reyne of wisdom and science :
And but she gouerne of our lif the bridil,
What-euer we do, we werke but in ydil.

Withoute grace ech vertu is bareyn,
Withoute grace force is but febilnesse,
Withoute grace al wisdom is but veyn,
Withoute grace may be no rihtwisnesse,
Fredam, bounte, manhod, nor gentilesse,
Prowesse in armis, nor sheltrouns in bataile—
Withoute grace what may al this auaile ?

She set in ordre alle vertues be reson,
Preserueth tungen from al forward language.
And she restreynith thoruh hir hih renon
The cours of fortune, for al hir fel outrage,
And grace kan best directen the passage
Of folk in labour, which that disespeire,
To reste eternall to make hem to repeire.

Grace of the stronge double kan the strengthe,
And she the feeble kan supporte in his riht

And make a dwerf of a cubit lengthe
Venquysshe a geant for al his grete myht.
Which callid is in euery mannys syht
Gouerneresse of vertues alle :
Therefore to grace for helpe I wil now calle.

And first this martir shal for me prouide
And of his mercy opne me the gate,
To make grace forto be my guide
His holi lif in ynglisshe to translate.
And to remembre the statly royal date
Whan I first gan on this translacioun :
It was the yeer by computacioun,

Whan sixte Herry in his estat roial
With his sceptre of Yngland and of France
Heeld at Bury the feste pryncipal
Of Cristemesse with ful gret habundance,
And aftir that list to haue plesance—
As his consail gan for hym prouide—
There in his place til hesterne forto abide :

Whiche is an hous of his fundacioun,
Where his preestis synge ay for him and preie
Of ful hool herte and trewe affeccioun,
That god his noblesse in al vertu conueie
And grante him wyne to-forn, or that he deie,
A palme of conquest, and, whan that he shal fyne,
To be registrid among the worthy nyne.

Which at departyng in Bury from his place
Lyst of his noblesse and magnanymite
And of his owyn special grace,
Meuyd in hym-silf of his benignyte,

Of ther chapitle a brother forto be,
Yeuyng his chapleyns occasion and matier
Ay to remembre on him in ther praier :
For thei conceyue in ther opynyoun
How the holy martir, which restith in that place,
Shal to the kyng be ful proteccioun
Ageyn alle enmies, be vertu and grace,
And for his noblesse procure and purchace
Forto rassemble by tryumphal victory
To his fadir, most notable of memory ;

Hopyng ageynward, the kyng shal for his
sake

Been to that chirch diffence and protectour
And into his handis al her quarel take,
To been ther sheeld and ther supportour :
Sithe he allone is ther roial foundour,
Them to releue ageyn al wordly shoures,
Lyk as to-forn dide his progenitoures ;

And sithe the kyng in his roial estat
List be deuocioun of his benyuolence
With the holy martir to be confederat,
As kyng with kyng, bothe of gret excellence :
For whiche the martir be heuently premynence
To sixte Herry shal his grace dresse,
To make him floure in tryumphal prowesse ;

Be influence he fro the heuene doun
Shal in knyghthod make him most marcial,
Yiue him with Arthour noblesse and hih renoun,
And with Charlemayn forto been egal ;
And he shal grante him in especial

With seint Edward to loue god and dreede,
And with seint Lowis, that was of his kynreede.

In this matter there is no more to seyn,
Sauf: to the kyng forto do plesaunce,
Thabbot William, his humble chapeleyn,
Gaf me in charge to do myn attendaunce
The noble story to translate in substaunce
Out of the latyn aftir my kunnyng,
He in ful purpos to yeue it to the kyng.

And thowh I was bareyn of elloquence,
Hauyng no practik fresshley to endite,
I took upon me vndir obedience
Aftir his biddying me lowly forto quite.
But yit a-forn, or I gan to write,
Vpon my knees riht thus I gan to seie
To the holi martir, and meekly forto preie:

'O precious charboncle of martirs alle,
O heuenly gemme, saphir of stabilnesse,
Thyn heuenly dewh of grace let doun falle
In-to my penne, encloied with rudnesse;
And, blissid martir, my stile do so dresse
Vndir thi wengis of proteccioun,
That I nat erre in my translacioun.

O richest rube, rubefied with blood
In thi passion be ful meek suffrance,
Bounde to a tre lowly whan thou stood,
Of arwes sharpe suffryng ful gret penaunce,
Stable, as a wal, of herte in thi constaunce:
Directe my stile, which haue vndirtake
In thi worshepe thi legende forto make!

O amatist with peynes purpureat,
 Emeraud trewe of chastite most cleene,
 Which nat-withstandyng thi kyngli hih estat
 For Cristis feith suffredist peynes keene :
 Wherfore of mercy, my dulnesse to susteene,
 Into my brest sende a confortatiff
 Of sum fair language, tenbelisshe with thi liff!

Send doun of grace thi licour aureat
 Which enlumynyth these rethoriciens
 To write of martirs ther passious laureat,
 And causith also these fressh musiciens,
 Fals lust auoided of epicuriens,
 Of glorious seyntes the tryumphes forto synge
 That suffred payne for Crist in ther leuyng!

Now, glorious martir, of Bury cheef patroun,
 In Saxonie born of the blood roial,
 Conueie my mater, be my proteccioun—
 Sithe in thi support myn hope abidith al ;
 Directe my penne of that I write shal,
 For, so thi fauour fro me nat ne twynne,
 Vpon thi story thus I wil be-gynne.'

In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng,
 Callid Alkmond, of excellent noblesse,
 A manli prince, vertuous of leuyng,
 And ful habounde of tresour and richesse,
 Notable in armye, ful renommed of prowesse,
 A semly persone, hardi and corageous,
 Mercurie in wisdom, lik Mars victorious,

Eyed as Argus be vertuous prouidence,
And circumspect as famous Scipioun ;
In kyngli honour of most excellence
Holde in his tyme thoruh many a regioun.
But nat-withstandyng his famous hih renoun,
He so demened his hih noblesse in deede
Aboue al tresour to loue god and dreede.

In wordli honour thouth he were fortunat,
Set in a chaier of kyngli dignite,
He koude knowe in his roial estat
Aboue alle kyngis god hath the souereynte,
And aduertisid in his most mageste
That sceptre or crowne may litil auaille or nouht
To hem that loue not god in herte and thought.

God makith kyngis and god kan kast hem doun,
Chastisith the proude, the meek he kan auaunce,
Lyk ther merites he yeueth hem ther guerdoun
And hem aquytith aftir ther gouernaunce :
This hadde Alkmond ful weel in remembraunce
Which in his grettest and most magnificence
To god disposid to do most reuerence.

For euery thyng that to god was dewe,
Al obseruances heuenly and deuyne
This worthi kyng ful lowly wolde sewe,
His roial crowne meekly to him enclyne.
Thus in two wise his noblesse dide shyne :
Toward the world, in knyhtly hih prowessse,
And toward god, in parfit holynesse.

And of his noblesse ferthere to declare,
A wif he hadde, the story berith witnesse,

AN ILLUMINATED PAGE OF LYDGATE'S POEM

After Harl. MS., Brit. Mus., 2278

To face p. 418



22 & goone Whilom ther was a kyng
Callis Albmaris of excellent noblesse
A manly prince / vertuous of leynny
And ful habounde / of trefour and richesse
Notable in arms / ful renomed of prowbess
Asemly performe / hardy and corageous
Mercurie in Wisdome / his myrs dictozious

And as Argus be vertuous prouide nce
And circumspect / as famous Scipion
In kyngth honour / of most excellence
Holde in his tyme / thorow many a region
But nat Withstandyng his famous hgh renon
He so demened his hgh noblesse in Dee De
Whow al trefour / to loue god and Serue

In Worldly honour thoug he were fortunat
Set in a chaire / of kyngth Dignite
He house knowbe / in his roial estat
Aboue alle kyngs / godly / alth the souereynite
And a Quertishid / in his most mayeste
That sceptre oz crowne / may litil ausile oz nougt
To hem that loue not god / in herte and thought

A worthi pryncesse, and callid was Siware.
Which bothe excellid in bounte and fairnesse,
As Hester meek, Judith in stabilnesse,
And in beute lik Dido of Cartage,
In wifly trouthe void of al outrage,
As Lucrece she was of herte stable,
In semlynesse rassemblyng Bersabe,
Sobre of hir port, of wil nat variable,
Lik Marcia in wifly chastite,
With al hir vertues passyng-fair to se,
Of compassion dide ay hir-silf delite
In almesse-deede and poore folk to visite.

Thus Alkmundus with the queen Siware
Afor of god chose, it is no dreded,
As sumtyme was Habraham and Sare,
The holy patriark, who-so take heed,
Of whos progenye blissid was the seed :
Blissid ther stok, blissid ther roial blood,
Which ther tyme bar frut that was so good.

This kyng in herte hadde a deuocioun
Petir and Poule in Rome to vesite :
Shewid to hym be reuelacioun,
Wherof in soule he gretly gan delite.
And of affeccoun his vowes to a-quite,
Disposid him to take that viage
And to parfourme his holi pilgrymage.

Ryht fortunat he was in his passage.
Reliques in Rome deuoutly vesytyng,
With a widwe he took his herbergage,
A parfit lady, ful holy of leuyng.

Which bi miracle out of his brest shynyng
Sawh a cleer sonne with a ful heuenly lyht,
That to foure parties shadde his beemys bryht.

Wherupon she cauhte a fantasie
And in hir-self gan gostly ymagyne,
With a sperit fulfillid of prophecie
Sadly seide : ' the sonne that I se shyne
Shewith in his stremys gostly and deuyne
A pronostik as I conceyue in deede :
Out of his brest a sonne shal out spreede

That shal enlumyne with his bemys cleer
The foure parties of the firmament,
Shyne in vertu as Phebus in his speer
Whan he his wayn hath from Aurora sent,
Voidyng alle cloudis with which the soil was
blent,

Makyng his stedis thoruh ther fery leemys
Glade thorison of many sondry reemys.

For ilk a sonne, this world tenlumyne,
From kyng Alkmond a branche shal out spreede,
Which to al uertu his corage shal enclyne,
As in his story heeraftir men shal reede.'
And in this mater ferthere to proceede,
Of the holi womman he hath his leue take
And to Saxonie his viage he gan make.

And solemply there he was receyued,
The contre glad of his repeir-ageyn.
And aftir soone Siware hath conceyued
Thoruh goddis grace, that werkith neuer in veyn.
And in that yeer she bar a child certeyn

In Norenberghes, a cite of gret fame,
Of god prouidid : Edmond was his name :

Eyhte hundrid yeer fourty and eek oon
Fro Cristis birthe by computacioun,
The same tyme so longe it was agoon
That this Edmond, as maad is menciou,un,
Was in Saxonie, the noble regioun,
Born of Siware, by record of writyng,
Sone to Alkmond, the holi glorious kyng.

The which Edmond bi grace of Crist Jhesu
Day by day, so as he wex in age,
So he alwey encreced in vertu :
Sobre of his chier, void of al outrage,
Demeur of port, angelik of visage,
Most acceptable in euery mannys siht—
For of his presence glad was euery wiht.

Good frut ay cometh fro trees that be goode,
From fressh hed-sprynges renne stremys cristallyne,
In vertuous pastures holsom is the foode,
Fro gentil blood procedith a trewe lyne.
Tarage of trees thapplis determyne :
So yong Edmond, pleynly to declare,
Shewed how he kam from Alkmond and Siware.

This name Edmond compownyd is of tweyne :
That on party seid of blissidnesse,
And the seconde by uertu souereyne
Is seid also of vertuous clenness ;
And thus Edmundus, pleynly to expresse,
Of god aboue, lik as it was seene,
Was bothe blissid and of his lif most cleene.

Fro good in vertu to bettre he dide encrease
By proporcioun of a good stature—
For Roial nature koude neuer cesse
Of hir handwerk to shewe the portrature ;
Louyd and desirid of euery creature :
For god gaff him bi heuenly influence
Bounte with wisdam, bewte with hih prudence.

And thouh that he excellid in semlynesse,
Was most heuenly in chier and contenance :
Yit was ther neuer seyn vngentilesse
In his persone nor in his gouernance :
For of hih trouthe and iust perseuerance,
Afferme I dar, his lif who list discerne :
Of alle goode thewes he was liht and lanterne.

Pryde in his persone hadde noon Interesse,
Goodly of spech to hih and low degre ;
And thouh his birthe was of hih noblesse,
His port was conueied with al humylite—
Which of alle vertues hath the souereynste :
For wher meeknesse bridle kan disdeyn
In hih estatis, there is noon errour seyn.

Chast of his lif bothe in deede and thouht,
Deuout to godward, neuer out of Charite ;
Whot-euer he seide, his woord ne changid he nouht ;
Benygne of speche to hih and low degre,
Disdeyned folk nouht in ther pouerte,
But of nature for al his hih renoun
Hadde on alle needy Roial compassioun.

For vertu gladly take in tendre age,
Where grace graueth the deepe impressiouns,
It wilnat voide by no foreyn outrage,

But more encrece by long successiouns ;
Loue take in youthe hath this condiciouns :
In gentil hertis for tenduren euere
By newe encres, and neuer to disseuere.

Yong of yeeris, old of discrecioun,
Flouryng in age, fructuous of sadnesse,
His sensualite ay soget to resoun,
And of his counsail discrecioun was maistresse ;
Foure cardynal sustre, Force and Rihtwisnesse,
Weied alle his werkis, by Prudence in ballance,
Al passiouns voide in his Attemperance.

Thouh he was fair as Alcybyades,
And with Daudid hadde grace vnto his guyde :
For alle these vertues in his roial encres
He was deuoid of surquedie and pride ;
Vices alle in him were set a-side—
And yf he shal be shortly comprehendid,
In him was no thyng forto be amendid.

For, whom that god list of his grace calle
To his seruise thoruh hih perfeccioun,
He wil fro vertu nat suffre him forto falle,
But singularly in his prouisioun
Stablisshes ther corages and ther professioun
Hool in his feith—such grace he doth hem
sende,

So to preserue onto his lyues eende.

And to procede ferthere in this mater,
Yf ye list aduertise in your mynde,
An examplaire and a merour cler
In this story ye shal now seen and fynde :
For yong Edmond listnat be behynde

With othre martirs, most parfit, chose and good,
For Cristis feith forto shede his blood.

And the processe pleylnly to declare
Of Estyngland how he was maad kyng,
So as I kan, in soth I wil nat spare
But heer in ordre reherse by wrytyng,
Folwyng myn auctours in euery maner thyng
As in substance vpon the lettre in deede,
To do plesance to them that shal it reede.

How he was sacryd kyng of Estyngland, and by what title
he kam to the Crowne.

The same tyme remembrid heer to-forn,
As ye han herd the processe by reedyng,
Whan seynt Edmond was in Saxonie born :
In Eatyngland regned a worthy kyng,
A manly man and vertuous of leuyng,
Weel gouerned and of notable fame,
And, as I fynde, Offa was his name.

Longe in that Rewm his lif he dide leede
In his estat with ful gret worthynesse.
But for he hadde noon heir to succede,
He kauhte in herte a manier heuynesse.
Which to refourme deuoutly and redresse,
Ther kam a conceit in-to his corage
Into holy lond to make a pilgrymage.

Which for taccomplishe he made his purueyance,
List no lengere delaie it nor respite,
His rewm first set in good gouernance,

Thouhte by the way his cosyn to vesite.
And forth he goth, pleynty to endite,
On his viage, with a gret meyne,
Toward Saxonye, and passid is the see.

And ther he was receyued lik a kyng
Of Alkmundus, his owyn cosyn diere,
And alle estatis in Saxonie abidyng
Assemblid weren forto make him chiere.
And specially his neuwe most entiere,
Blissid Edmond, with roial attendance
Was ay awaityng him to do plesance ;

He neuer parted out of his presence :
To him he hadde so gret affeccioun.
Which that kyng Offa in his aduertence
Ful weel considered of wisdom and resoun,
Seyng in vertu his disposicioun
Dempte him ful able, as by liklynesse,
For tatteyne to vertuous hih noblesse :

Of face and look he was so amyable,
Best acceptid in euery mannys siht,
Demeur of port, of his chier most stable,
On his bealoncle awaityng day and nyht ;
Al this considered, thouhte, as it was ryht,
How he muste of reson and nature
Loue Edmond best aboue ech creature.

First in his conceit he gan to takyn heed,
To his neuwe how moche that he was bounde ;
Thouhte ageynward, in blood and nyh kynreed,
How riht requyryth, where gentilesse is founde,
Of kyndly meuyng it must ageyn rebounde

To him where first the gentilesse was seyn,
Bounte for bounte, for loue shewe loue ageyn.

Which kyng Offa gan wisly aduertise,
Of his neuwe seynge the diligence,
The grete attendance, thwaytyng the seruise,
The humble port, thabood in his presence :
Alle these thyngis kyngly to recompense,
Thouhte he was bounde to him al his liff
Him to guerdone with sum prerogatif.

Thus, euery thyng that was necessarye
Wisly ordeyned toward his passage,
This worthy Offa list no lengere tarye,
Whan he were redy, to doon his pilgrymage—
Except a sparkle abood in his corage
Of hih feruence toward his neuwe diere,
And to hym seide riht thus as ye shal hiere :

First in his armys he gan him to embrace,
And seide : 'Edmond, my neuwe most entier,
My wil is this, or I parte fro this place—
And will also that alle men it heere :
Because thow hast maad me so good cheere,
What-euer falle of myn ageyn-komyng,
Or I departe, receyue of me this ryng.

And, gentil neuwe, in especiall
I the accepte for my sone in deede,
Vnder most trewe affeccion paternall,
A-forn alle othre of my kynreede,
Of riht hool herte, that thow shalt succede
The crowne tenherite and regne aftir my day,
Yif it so falle I deye be the way.'

With salt terys distillyng on his face,
At his departyng, of fadirly feruence
Eft ageyn Edmond he gan embrace,
His cosyn Alkmund beyng in presence :
Which euery thyng markid in sentence
That kyng Offa outhur dide or saide
Vnto his sone, and smylyng this he saide :

‘Edmond sone, hastow me forsake
And list of me nomore to taken heed,
And of affeccioun a newe fadir take,
Which art so nyh born of his kynreed ?
And sithe it likith to his goodliheed
To take the so and forto be thy guyde,
As for his sone lat him for the prouyde.’

Aftir this language Offa took a ryng
Which was to him most special and entiere,
With which he was afforn I-sacrid kyng
By an holy bisshop, the story doth us lere,
And onto Edmond he seide in this maniere :
‘Gentil newest, this ryng which that thow dost se
Shal been a tokne a-twixe the and me.

What our or tyme that I this ryng the sende,
Receyue it goodly for an entier signe :
Which in effect shal be for a good eende
And for sum cause of memorye digne.
Which for taccomplisshe be gracious and benygne,
Touchyng my sonde take good heed thereto
Without delay anon that it be do.’

Alle thestatis of Saxonye were present
At the departyng of these kyngis twayne,

Conueyeng Offa alle of on assent
With gret noblesse, which thei dede ordeyne.
At leue-takyng thei felte a manier peyne—
But it was seid sithe go many a yeer :
That freendis alwey maynot been infeer.

Offa goth forth, and Alkmund stille abood,
Riht weel beseyn and with a fayr meyne,
And ful deuoutly on his way he rood
Toward the parties of the grete se,
A-bood the passage—ye gete no mor of me :
For be the story I can not deuise
Where he shippid at Gene or at Venyse,

Of his passage by that se so large,
Nor by what coostis his galey dide dryue—
It is no parcell pleylnly of my charge
Thunkouth tournes cleerly to descryue,
Nor wher ther speed was outhur slouh or
blyue ;

It is a thyng which I nat vndirtook,
Be-cause it is nat rehersed in my book.

I hadde neuer rad afforn nor seyn
Of Franceys Petrak the Cosmagraffia,
Where he descryueth ful openly and pleyln
The strange contres toward that partie,
And how the maistris shal ther Galeys guye
Of old expert touchyng ther loodmannage—
Which to declare I haue no cleer language.

But whan he had accomplisshid his iourne,
At the holy sepulcre doon his deuociouns
And certeyn daies abide in that contre
In his prayeres and special orisouns,

Fulfillid his vowes, maad his oblaciouns :
Glad in his herte that he the place hath seyn,
His vessell reedy, gan shape him hoom ageyn.

And, as the story cleerly doth expresse,
In his repair this holy blyssid kyng
At port Seyngeorge fil in gret seeknesse.
And ther a while vpon his bed liggyng
Ful weel conceyued in his languysshying
Be the encressyng of his maladie,
That he must die, there was no remedie.

And ful deuoutly, of humble and meek entent
He made him redy by confessioun,
Thanne receyued the holy sacrament,
Gan to declare his hertis mocioun—
Al his meyne stondyng enviroun—
To-forne them alle in open audience,
And first of alle tolde hem this sentence :

‘Syrs, quod he, I charge yow in deede
And yow coniure of conscience to se
Touchyng my kyngdham who that shal succede.
Tauoide away al ambiguyte,
My laste will—takith heed that it so be—
Ys this in soth, seith so at your repeyr :
My cosyns sone shal regne and be myn heyr.

Hath, berth my neuew this tokne and this ryng,
After the promys maad whan that I wente
In al haste possible that he be crownyd kyng ;
Besechyng yow in al my beste entente
Withoute delay this massage to presente
Aftir my deth, and looke ye nat varye
To my desir forto been contrarye !

Lat been among yow no contencioun
In this mater nor no variance,
But that ye putte him in cleer pocesoun
Of Estyngland to haue the gouernance ;
This is my will, this is myn ordynaunce
And my desir—looke it be do soone !
For sondry vertues I se in his persone.

I wot how he hath disposicioun
Vnto al vertu, as semeth vnto me,
And god hath sent him of grace gret foyoun,
Semlynesse, wisdom and beaute,
Loue and gret fauour of hih and lowh degre :
Which in o persone to rekne be riht fayr.
Therefore, at o woord, I wil he be myn hayr.'

And whan his meyne, which knelid him befor,
Had herd the wil and sentence of the kyng,
With gret assurance thei were bounde and sworn
It for taccomplisshe in euery-maniere thyng.
And whan he hadde delyuered hem the ryng,
Of this lyff heer makyng a blyful eende
To goddis mercy his soule he dide sende.

Than his meyne with al ther besy cure,
As they best koude in strange fer contre,
Gan ordeyne for his sepulture
And buryed him with gret solempnite.
Which accomplissid, thei taken han the se.
By goddis grace, makyng no dellaies,
Into Saxonie they kam in fewe daies.

To kyng Alkmond ther message first thei
tolde

Of kyng Offa and of his fair eendyngh;
And he gan weepe as he to water wolde.
And to yonge Edmond they presente up the ryng
And him besouhte bamaner constreynyngh
In goodly haste tordeyne his passage
Toward Estyngland, taccepte his heritage.

His fadir Alkmond, trist in compleynyngh,
Kepte his chambre, wered his clothis blake,
From al peple his persone absentyng:
Til be processe his sorwe gan aslake.
Than in his paleis he gan a counseil make
Of alle his lordis, of swich as were most wys,
In this mater to heren there avys:

Wher that his sone, grene and tendir of age,
By ther discrecion and noble prouidence
Shal forth procede, to take his heritage,
Toward Estyngland, bauys of the sentence—
For he was loth to leuen his presence,
Sithe al his yoie and wordly suffisance
Abod in Edmond, and his hertly plesance.

And with o vois they conclude euerychon
Fynally, this mater to termyne:
To Estyngland that Edmund sholde gon,
Ther to be crownyd, next born off that lyne:
For they dempte be grace which is dyuyne
And off ther counsail hool and vndeuyded,
That he off god was therto prouyded—

Ageyn whos wil may be no resistance,
Nor no counsail which that may auaile:
For god preferrih thoruh his magnyficence

Alle tho in vertu which that may preuayle ;
Whos disposicioun most vnkouth off entayle
Afforn ordeyneth be merueillous werkynges
The palme off prynces and crownyng eek off kynges.

Alkmund was heuy off cheer and contenance
That Edmund sholde departe out off his siht ;
With wepyng eyen hauyng remembrance
Off thilke womman that sawh a sonne bryht
Shyne on his brest that gaff so cleer a lyht,
In Rome cite, and kauhte a fantasies
How thilke sonne dide Edmund signefie :

Which was a tokne that he sholde in this lyff
Shyne lik a sonne by excellent cleernesse,
And off foure vertues han a prerogatiff :
First off Prudence, off Force, and Ryhtwisesse,
Lyue batemprance in his chast clennessse ;
That he be signes which were in hym begonne
Sholde in al vertu shyne lik an heuenly sonne.

These thynges peised and weied in his thouht,
And in him-sylff enspired off resoun
By goddis wil how al this thyng was wrouht,
And off hih wisdom and discrecioun :
He condescendid to the peticioun
Off thenbassiat, dewly as him ouhte,
Which the messageris from kyng Offa brouhte.

First twenty knyhtes he ches out off his Rewm,
That wern in wisdom and knythod most notable,
And other twenty, that fro Jherusalem
Kam with kyng Offa, famous and honorable ;
And among alle a knyht off port most stable

Assigned was, the story is fol kouth,
For-to gouerne Edmund in his youth :

He hadde off old famous experience
Bothe off armys and off gentillesse,
Al his apport demened with prudence,
Sadnesse in tyme, in tyme also gladnesse,
With entirchangyngis off merthe and sobirnesse
After the sesouns requered off euery thyng,
A man ful able to been aboute a kyng.
He hadde eek clerkis ful circumspect and wise,
Signed tawaite vpon his doctryne,
Chose chapeleyns erly for tarise
To do seruyse which that is dyuyne.
And alle his sqwieres, pleynty to termyne,
Sqwieres and yomen that sholde with him goon,
Alkmund for vertu ches hem euerychoon.

And after this, as he that was ful wys,
Ordeyne gan ful royal apparayle
For yonge Edmund be dilligent auys,
Stuffed his shippis with meyne and vitayle.
And whan they wern redy for-to sayle,
This chose off god ful meekly doun knelyng
Off ffader and mooder axeth the blessyng.

It nedeth nat to wryten or reherse
The woful sobbynges, the syhhes to declare,
Nor the heuynesses that gan the hertis perse
Off al that land, whan Edmund sholde fare ;
The pitous wepynges off Alkmund and Siware,
How they in terys gan hem-syluen drowne,
Nor off this Qween how ofte she dide swowne.

This noble pryncesse koude hir nat restreyne,
 Whan that she sawh hir sone take his leue,
 To sobbe and weepe and pitously compleyne—
 It was no wonder thowh it dide hym greue ;
 For tendre moodres ther loue kan weel preue,
 Hertly toknys to shewe out kan not spare
 Thoruh mortal constreynt—Record vpon Syware,

Whan she hir sone gan kyssen and embrace
 And in hir armys moderly hym streyne,
 With salt terys bedewed al hir face.
 So bittir was the partyng off them tweyne.
 And in especial most she felte payne
 Whan she sawh Edmund entren in-to se,
 She koude nat stynte to wepyn off pite.

Off al that day she list nat for-to pleye
 Nor noman kowde make hire glad nor liht.
 For whan the shippis gan saile upon the weye,
 She stood ay styлле and after cast hire siht—
 So weel as moodres, loue ther kan no wiht !
 And whan Syware hadde longe mournyd,
 Conueyed in armys hoom she is retoturnyd.

Expert the shipmen off ther loodmanage
 Knowyng the coostis off ech sond,
 And Eolus fortunèd ther passage,
 And god by grace heeld ouer them his hond,
 Conueied ther shippe toward Estynglond.
 And at a place, pleynly to desoryue,
 Callyd Maydenburuh, in haste they dide aryue.

Thoruh goddis myht whan thei the lond han kauht,
 This holi Edmond, of hool affeccioun,



EDMUND'S LEAVE-TAKING

AFTER THE PICTURE AT CHATSWORTH

To face p. 434

Fro ther arryuaile almost a bowe drauht
He ful deuoutli gan to knele down
And preied god first in his orisoun
That his comyng were to him acceptable
And to al the land welful and profitable.

And in tokne that god herde his praier,
Vpon the soil, sondy, hard and drie,
Ther sprong bi myracle fyue wellis clier,
That been of uertu, helthe and remedie
Ageyn ful many straunge malladie.
Thus list the lord of his eternal myht
First at his londyng magnefie his knyht.

Alle the feeldis sowyn round aboute
And londe arable a ful large space
Gan there tencrece—of trouthe, this no doute—
More than it dide in any othir place ;
And all thencrez kam of goddis grace :
For in such caas may been noon obstacle
Whan for his seynt god werkith bi myracle.

And be-side the wellis, as I fynde,
At his comyng he bilt a roial toun,
Which stant ther yit for a manier mynde
For his arryuaile into this Regioun.
Which is this day callid Hunstantstoun,
And betokneth, who-so looke a-riht,
In latyn tonge swetnesse and gret myht ;

For this name compownyd is of tweyne :
First of Hony, which hath gret swetnesse,
The tother party, pleynly forto seyne,
Ys seid of stonys, which han gret hardnesse.

And thus this toun, pleynty to expresse,
Of Ston and Hony took ther propirte
Of folk that first dwellid in that Cite ;

For thei were humble of maneres and trefable,
Pesible of port and of condiciouns ;
And at a preef manly and diffensable,
And for tassaile lik hardy champiouns ;
In pes lik lambes, in werre like leouns.
And in this wise this manly peple wrouhte,
Which fro Saxonye seynt Edmond brouhte.

And ther he heeld his household nyh a yeer.
And thanne remewed to Athelborgh, the toun ;
And there, I fynde, he lerned his sawteer.
And in this while of fals collusioun
Enmyes were entred into this regioun,
Which falsly hadde of ther malis contryued
From his kyngdham Edmond to haue depryued.

Thei caste, of fforce rather than of riht,
To haue put him from his heritage.
But afor god trouthe passith myht,
Fre gifte and blood hauyng auauntage ;
And thouh so were that he was yong of age,
God wolde his title promoten in certeyn,
Maugre alle tho that grucche ther-ageyn.

For whan Kunbertus, the bisshop Elmanense,
Knew the purpos of the fals werkyng,
Made alle the lordes thoruh his hih prudence
Of thilke kyngdham to come at his callyng
And of kyng Offa shewed hem the ryng,
Whos laste wil he dede to them expresse,
His stiward present that therof bar witnesse.

Twenti knyhtis that were at his eendying
The trouthe affermyd holy of this matere,
Thus, by grace, ther was no mor tarieng,
The lordis first, with al the peeple I-fiere,
Ful loude cried, that alle myhte hiere,
That of kyng Offa be gifte and be kynreede
Edmond was heir iustly to succeede.

And of assent heeron a day they sette,
List no while prolonge it nor delaie,
But alle attones at Athilburgh him sette
In the beste wise they koude hem-silf arraie.
Wherof his enemyes gretly gan dismaie—
But alle such enemyes to hyndryn han no myht
Where bi grace god list to forthre a ryht.

Gret noumbre of lordes and worthy knyhtis
sadde,
Bothe of Saxonie and this regioun,
Ful ryaly this yonge prynce ladde
Toward Suffolke, as maad is mencioun,
And him conueied to the roial toun,
Callid Bures, who-so list to lere,
Where he was crowned, anoon as ye shal heere.

Sauf whit and blak I haue no mo coloures
Forto descryue his coronacioun ;
In Tullius gardeyn I gadrid neuer floures,
Nor neuer slepte vpon Citheroun,
Nor at the welle drank of Elycoun,
Nor of Calliope no fauour fond attall,
To telle or write a feste so Royall ;

I haue therto no kunnyng nor insiht
Forto reherse so excellent a thyng.

For he receyued that day by goddis myht
 A crowne, a sceptre, a swerd eek and a ryng,
 And by Kunbertus he was enoynted kyng,
 Ful solempnely, the cronycle ye may see,
 The day of Cristis hih Natyuyte.

The riche crowne was set on his hed
 To rewle the peeples thoruh his hih noblesse,
 And heeld the swerd to keepe al vndir dreed
 That dide wrong the peeples to oppresse,
 The sceptre of pees, the ryng of ryhtwysnesse—
 For pees and riht, with mercy meynt among,
 Conseruè a kyng in his estat most strong.

This thyng accomplissid by accomptes cleer
 Fro the tyme of Thyncarnacioun
 Eihte hundryd wyntir fifty and sexe yer
 Whan blissid Edmond thoruh his hih renoun
 Was crownyd at Bury kyng of this regiou,
 Which that tyme, most gracious of vysage,
 Was ful compleet fiftene yer of age.

This chapitle declareth the Roial gouernance of seynt Edmond
 aftir he was crownyd kyng of Estyngland.

This hih feste; ful famous of renoun,
 Fully accomplissid, with eury circumstance,
 In al that longith Tacoronacioun,
 That blissid Edmond by goddis ordynance
 Hadde of Estyngland hooli the gouernance :

Tholi gost þeyng euer his guyde,
First for his rewme thus he gan prouyde.

Lawes he sette of trouthe and equite,
Them establysshid upon ryhtwysnesse ;
First so disposing his royal mageste
Twen sceptre and sword tatempre his noblesse,
That ther were founde in nouthur noon excesse,
But with the sceptre conserue his peeples in pees,
Punyssheth with the awerd folk that were rekles.

For, as a sceptre is smothe, long and round,
The hier part of gold and stonys ynde :
So semblably this noble kyng Edmond
Was meek of maneres and vertuous, as I fynde,
Vp to godward hadde most his mynde,
Mercy preferryng, examyned euery deede,
Delaied rygour, listnat of haste proceede.

In his on hand the sceptre of pees he heeld,
Cherisshynge his peeples in reste and quyeete ;
And wher that he espied or beheeld
Ryot or trouble of folk that were vnmeete,
Of manly prudence in his royal seete
Apon he took his sword of ryhtwysnesse,
Of fals rauyne alle surfetis to redresse.

And so, of clerkys as discrecioun
Ys named moodir of vertues alle,
With hir doughtren : prouydence and resoun,
Riht to sustene she bowe nat nor falle :
So was he besy the tresour, that men calle
Rem publicam, to moren and amende,
In pees tawmentis it, in werre it to diffende.

He koude the reynes coarten and restreyn
Of such as lyued by fals robberye,
Al ydil folk that wolde also disdeyne
In vertuous labour ther bodies to applie,
Chastise truantis for ther losengrye ;
Deuly cherisshe, as it is specefied,
For comon profit them that were occupied.

In foure thyngis he dide his besynesse.
First sette his study bi ful gret dilligence
With hool herte and vertuous hih prowesse,
Doon first to god dew reuerence,
Cherisshe his prynces in ther magnificence,
Gouerne his knyhtis in marcial disciplyne,
Tauht by Vigecius, ffamous in that doctryne.

First blissid Edmond of noble policie
Heeld up the chirch of hih perfeccioun,
Fro them auoided al maner symonye,
Bothe ypocrisie and symylacioun ;
Gaff no benefices but for deuocioun,
But ches out heerdis most contemplatiff
To rewle his peeple, for ther parfit liff.

His roial Juges, that shulde his doomys speede,
Such as excellid in kunnyng and prudence,
That were nat corrupt with fauour, loue nor dreede
And hadde to giftes no maner aduertence,
Groundid in lawe and on good conscience :
Them he ches out, by whos auysementis
Were execut hooly his Juggementis.

His noble lawes that tyme were gouernyd
Withoute oppression of any meynenance,

That lyht of trouthe cleerly was discernyd
And nat eclipsid be power nor puissance ;
For meede tho daies peised nat in ballance,
Nor fals forsweryng with fauour was not meynt
Nor for vntrouthe Jurours were not atteynt.

Marchandise sold by no gile,
The symple biggere vntrewly to deceyue ;
Thartificer knew no-maner wile,
Nouthur in vttryng nor inward to receyue—
What fraude mente, men koudenat tho conceyue ;
The laborer neded no stuff to borwe,
For his salaire abood nat til the morwe.

Thus first of prynces the notable excellence,
And of the cherch the preued perfeccioun,
And of the Juges thauyse prouydence,
And of knythhod the marcial hih renoun,
And of marchantis the hih discrecioun,
With al the residue, in oon ymage knet,
Wer by kyng Edmund in ther dew ordre set :

Of this ymage prynces stood as hed,
With ther two eyen, of prudence and resoun,
To ther sogetis forto takyn heed,
That thei nat erre by no deuysioun ;
Eek that the eeris haue inclynacioun
That outhur party his quarell may expresse
Be good leiser, or thei here doomys dresse.

This moral ymage to conserue and diffende,
The kyng ordeyned of royal polycye
That worthy knyhtis, pleynly to comprehende,
Sholde of the armys the party occupie,

Forto supporte it thoruh ther chyualrie :
 To keepe maidens and widwes from outrage,
 And saue the chirche from myschef and damage.

This cristene prynce for a prerogatiff
 Disposed, a soule to quyke this ymage,
 Forto preferre folk contemplatiff,
 Sobre of ther leuyng, demour and sad of age,
 Expert in kunnyng, benygne of ther language :
 Lyk ther office, be exaample and by doctryne
 With liht of vertu his peeple tenlumyne.

With feet and leggis this ymage to supporte,
 To contynue bi lengthe of many yeeris,
 This prynce ordeyned, his story kan reporte,
 The plouh in cheeff, with othre laborerys,
 As dyuers trauailes which been particuleris :
 For, but yif labour holde the plouh on honde,
 In prosperite no lond ne myhte stonde.

Thus euery membre set in ordra dewe,
 Cause was noon among hem to compleyne ;
 For ech of hem his office dide sewe,
 The hed listnat at the foot disdeyne ;
 Ther loue was oon, departed not on tweyne ;
 Ech thyng bi grace so deuly was conueied :
 Hed of the membris was not disobeied.

And as the Ruby, kyng of stonys alle,
 Reioiseth ther presence with his naturel liht :
 So kyng Edmond in his roial stalle
 With sceptre and crowne sat ilk an heuenly knyht,
 To hih and low most agreable of syht—
 This woord rehersed of euery creature :
 'Long mote he leue, longe mote the kyng endure !'

And as myn auctour his persone doth descryue,
 He was be craft so fourmyd of nature :
 A bettir compact was ther noon a-lyue
 Nor proporey ownyd of fetures nor stature ;
 Most lik a knyht labour to endure ;
 And euery man only bi goddis grace
 Loued him of herte that loked on his face.

In his estat most goodly and benygne,
 Heuenly of cher, of counseil prouydent,
 Hadde in his persone many blissid signe,
 Whan tyme requyrid, kyngly pacient,
 And ay to godward hool was his entent ;
 And al his port, in ordre to termyne,
 Was to al uertu a scole and a doctryne.

In his doomye most rihtful and most
 trewe,
 Best auysid in Juggement yeuyng ;
 Stable of his herte, loued no chaunges newe,
 Koude weel abide, nat hasty in werkyng ;
 And passendly discreet in comandyng,
 In his language nat boistous nor contraire,
 But with sad chier benygne and debonaire.

Most temperat he was of his dieete,
 Large in yeuyng to folkes vertuous ;
 To foryefnesse most mansuet and meete ;
 In prosperite meek and nat pompous,
 Sur in aduersite ; of mercy most famous,
 His hand mynystre, pleynly as I reede,
 Topne his cofres for almesse-deede.

To alle religious protectour and support,
 To heretikes a yerde most mortal—

Lollardis that tyme fond in him no confort,
To holichirche he was so strong a wal,
Hated fals doctryn in especial;
And disdeyned of kyngly excellence
To alle fals tonges to yeuen audience :

To his hihnesse it was abhomynable
Feynyd lesynges and adulacioun,
Kankrid mouthes and lippis detestable ;
And al enuyous supplantacioun
Hadde in his siht no supportacioun ;
Double corages nor soweris of discord
With his noblesse myht haue noon accord.

And as myn auctour makith rehersaile
His hih prowesse puttyng in memorye,
In trouthes quarel komyng to bataile
A sheeld of knythhod, of worthynesse the glorie,
Callid in armes a swerd of hih victorie :
For in his brest he bar to his ences
Of magnanymyte the herte of Hercules,

Prudence in armys, to make a feeld and sette,
Hadde with Nestor manly aysynesse ;
Knyhtly cherid his foomen whan he mette ;
With Tideus he hadde eek hardynesse,
Eek at assaies passyng delyuernesse ;
And thouh he hadde bothe hardynesse and
myht,

He neuer took feeld but on a ground of ryht.

What-euer he wan, of ffreedom and bounte
To parte it forth he was most liberal,
In his giftes there was no skarsete,

For longe delaies he liste noon make attal—
For of such giftes that callid been roial
Men seyn, with prynces who that hath to doone,
A gifte is doublid when it is youe soone.

This prynce among, of natural gentilesse,
Wolde for disport, his story doth deuyse,
Hawke and hunte, tauoiden ydilnesse,
Vse honest gamen in many sondry wise ;
And lik a knyht to haue exercise
With marcial pleies, in youthe hauyn a guyde
Knyhtly to teche him for pees to Juste and ryde.

And as it sat to his roial estat,
Dyuers tymes he armyd wolde be
To renne a pees, wondir fortunat,
Therin most ewrous and therwithal parde
Best demened that men koude owher se :
For god bi grace maad him so enteer
That he was able alle vertues to leer.

This worthy prynce famous in al uertu,
Old of prudence, of yeris yong and greene,
Chose and ordeyned of our lord Jhesu
Tenrece in goodnesse, of entent most cleene :
For in his court, as it was weel seene,
As his maister in youthe dide him teche,
Ther was noon oth nor dishonest speche ;

First in the morwe, whan he dide aryse,
With his knyhtis he was anoon conueied
To his oratorie, to heren his seruise ;
Al holy thyng of him was so obeied ;
Cloos in his herte ech uertu was I-keied :

Thus toward heuene he was contemplatif,
Toward the world a good knyht of his liif.

And of his houshold styward was plente,
Glad suffisance was his tresorer,
And countrollour was lyberalite,
And trewe reknere was callid his cofrer,
And humble compassion was his awmener,
Marchal of halle good cher with gentilesse,
And clerk of kechyn was faithful redynesse.

There was no surfet of no ryot late :
Sobirnesse kepte his wach at eue ;
Geyn poore folk shet was not his gate,
His warderope open, alle needy to releue ;
Such roial mercy dide his herte meue,
To clothe the nakid and the hungry feede,
And sente his almesse to folk that lay bedreede.

Who can or may keepe cloos or hide
A cleer lanterne whan that it is lyht,
On a chaundelabre whan it doth abide ;
Or of the sonne difface the bemys bryht ?
Or who koude hyndre goddis owne knyht,
This holy Edmond, this Cristes owne man,
To many a kyngdham but that his fame ran ?

Of his noblesse that was the report :
In Estyngland how ther was a kyng
Of whom the renon by many a strange port
Was rad and sunge, his vertues rehersyng,
His gouerniance, his knyhtly demenyng.
Which cesid nat, fro tyme it was be-gome,
Til into Denmark the noble fame is ronne.

Which was occasion of ful gret hatreed
Of such as hadde at his noblesse enuye.
Prowesse of knythod, where-euer it doth proceed,
And his report of famous cheualrie
I-hyndred is ful ofte on sum partie
Bi them that list falsly therat disdeyne,
Whan to such noblesse them-silf maynot atteyne.

Now cese a while I wil in this matere
And in maner make a digressioun,
Lyk as myn auctour doth me pleyntly lere,
Forto reherse the firste occasioun
How Dany's kam into this regioun ;
Aftir reherse the title be wrytyng
Of the martirdam of this worthy kyng.

Explicit liber primus. Incipit secundus.

BOOK II

Somtyme in Denmark ther was a paynym kyng :
As I fynde, Lothbrocus was his name,
Which him delited in hawkyng and huntyng
And to disporte him in such maner game ;
And for thencres of his roial fame
Whan he to Mars had doon his obseruance,
To serue Diane was set al his plesance.

This Lothbrocus hadde sones tweyne,
Wonder despitous and of gret cruelte :
Hyngwar and Vbba, which that dide here payne
To stuffe ther shippis with gret meyne,

Lyk as piratis to robbe upon the se,
And so lik men of ther corage wood
Reioisid hem euere to slen and sheede blood.

What-euer they wan outhir bi force or myht,
It was to hem no-maner difference;
For whethir ther getyng kam by wrong or
riht,

Thei took ther title of wilful violence.
And as they sat onys in the presence
Of Lothbrocus, their fadir, that was kyng,
They gan boste and seide in auauntyng:

‘ Ys ther any leuyng now these daies,
Kyng or prynce, so myhti of puissance
In any rewm, knowen at alle assaies,
On londe and water that hath gouernance,
Which rassemblith or is lik in assurance
To vs in manhod, yf it be declaryd,
Which to our noblesse of riht may be comparyd?

For there is noon afforn vs dar abide;
Be title of swerd alway we preuaile,
To spoile be force alle them that go or ride,
Take alle vesselis that bi the se doo saile,
Stuf of marchantis we proudly kan assaile,
Takyng noon heed whethir it be ryht or wrong—
For ther be any on erthe now so strong?’

Whan Lothbrocus had herd hem seid a while
Such bostful woordes, presumptuous of language,
Anoon on hem of scorn he gan to smyle,
Bad hem stynte and cese of ther outrage,
Seide: there was oon, yong and tendir of age,

Which passed hem in worthynesse as ferre
As doth the sonne a verray litil sterre :

‘In Estyngland there regneth now a kyng
Whos hih renoun alle folkes do commende,
Of whom the noblesse by report of seyeng
On euery part his bemys doth extende.
Lat be your bost ! his prowesse doth transcende
All your emprises as hih as doth the moone
A cloudy skie that shal vanysshe soone.

With his manhod he holden is riht wis,
And with his knyghthod he hath gret prouidence,
Of gouernance he hath a souereyn pris ;
Thouh he be large, he doth no violence.
And thus his famous roial excellence—
I dar reherse, as men reporten alle,
Doth your auauntyng and al your bost appalle.

Thus hath the heuene disposid and his fate
That he in vertu hath no tyme lorn ;
And thouh so be he was but late,
As men recorde, in Saxonie born,
Spent weel his youthe, as I you tolde afforn,
Sit now crownyd on a kyngis stage,
Where ye no name han sauf of fals pillage.

Rehersith sum thyng in especial
Which to your worshepe may rebounde ageyn ;
Yif euer ye dide any thyng egal
On londe or watir that was knowe or seyn
Lyk the meritis preued in certeyn
Of kyng Edmond, which with sceptre in honde,
But yong of yeris gouerneth Estynglonde.’

With such rebukes whan Lothbrok had been blamyd,
 In ther hertis it causid gret enuye,
 And of them-silff were verrailly ashamyd
 That he kyng Edmond list so magnesie:
 Made an a-vow of fals conspiracie:
 Yif thei myhte fynde oportunyte,
 On his noblesse thei wolde auenged be.

Thus euer hath been a merueilous difference
 Twen liht of uertu and vecious derknesse,
 Twen perfeccioun and raueynous violence,
 Atwen fals pillage and knyhtly hy prowesse;
 Enuye alwey is contrary to goodnesse.
 And thus for uertu, to speke in woordes playne,
 Ingwar and Vbbo at Edmond gan disdeyne.

And in this menewhile it fil upon a day:
 Of fantasie that cam onto his mynde,
 He wolde disporte him, go take his hawk and play,
 This said Lothbrook, and leue his men behynde.
 And at a ryuer it fil thus, as I fynde:
 Because that he was allone at large,
 Anoon he entred in taltil barge.

And in that vessel whil he kept him chos,
 Sool be him-silff, that no-man myht him se:
 Al vnwarly a sodeyn wynd aroos
 And drof his barge into the salt see.
 And by our occian daies too or thre
 Fordreuen he was by fatal auenture
 Among the wawes, and koude no land recure.

Diners daungeres he passid of many a sond,
 With sondry tempestis forpossid to and fro:
 Tyl be fortune he was cast upon the lond

Fer up in Northfolke, the story tellith so,
Beside a village, callid Redam tho.
Men of the contre for an vnkouth thyng
Hym and his hauk presented to the kyng.

Ryht merueilous and riht a strange caas
A kyng to come fro so fer contre !
And no-man koude espie what he was :
In his apport he kepte him so secre.
Thyng that god wil, it must needis be—
To muse theron, the labour were in veyn,
Or to dispute or argue ther-ageyn.

Whan Lothbrocus was to kyng Edmond brouht,
The kyng comandid of Roial gentillesse
To al his houshold : that he failed nouht
Of that myhte ese him in his heuynesse
Or reconforte him in his vnkouth distresse ;
Euer of custum chargyng his officeres
Al humanite shewen to straungeres.

Thoruh al his court this was the vsance :
That no-man shulde in no-manner wise
To no straunger do no displesance,
But them cherisshe, as thei best kan deuysel.
Which of custum was kept for an enprise
In al his paleis to pilgrym and straunger,
With hool attendance, that ech man make
cheer.

This said Lothbrok was weel ronne in age,
Riht gentilmanly in al his demenyng,
Was disposid of old in his corage
Specially to haukyng and huntynge.
To whom ther was assigned by the kyng

Oon, that was maistir of his huntis alle,
And, as I fynde, Bern men dide him calle.

This Lothbrocus considered euery thyng,
Thouh he was a paynym in his lyue,
Toknys notable which he sauh in the kyng
Of hih prowesse and knyhtly disciplyne,
And how he was a merour of doctryne,
And his houshold was liht and lanterne
To alle uertuous how thei shal hem gouerne :

For which Lothbrocus louly, as him ouhte,
Requered the kyng for him to prouide,
With hool herte of grace he him besouhte,
In his houshold that he myhte abide,
Doon him seruise bothe to gon and ride—
For, as him sempte, it was in his auys
Among housholdis an heuenly paradys.

To whos request the kyng is condescendid
And most goodly gan him reconforte,
Gaf him licence, and nat be reprehendid,
With Bern, his hunte, to pleie him and disporte,
And whan him list to court ageyn resorte ;
And grauntid him withoute daunger
To gon on haukyng by euery fressh ryuer.

And thouh Lothbrocus were of hih estat
In his contre and of gret excellence,
Yit in such game he was most fortunat,
And therof hadde famous experience :
Thoruh whos besy waker dilligence
His hauk and he took foules many-fold,
Ech day them brouhte hoom to the houshold.

Al watir foul and foul upon the lond,
Wher he fond plente in any maner place,
Ther myht noon escape from his hond ;
And beestis wilde ful weel he koude enchace.
And thus he stood weel in the kynges grace,
Eek al the houshold gan him magnefie—
Sauf Bern, the hunte, hadde at him enuye.

Thus he, that stood in euery mannys grace
And in the kynges hih beneuolence,
Was by enuye remeued from his place,
Lengere in court to haue noon assistance ;
So serpentyn was the violence
Which of this Bern sette the herte afire :
Of fals malys moordre to conspire.

Cause was ther noon, sauf that Lothbrok
Was more eurous and gracious onto game
Than was this hunte, and mo beestis took,
In such practik hadde a grettere name :
Wherof this Bern lauhte a maner shame,
Gan compasse of hatful cruelte
Whan he sauh tyme, auengid forto be.

Vpon a day to-gedir out thei wente
Vn-to a wode, sum game forto fynde.
And whil Lochbrocus no-maner malis mente,
This false Bern fil on him behynde
And cowardly, the story makith mynde,
Slouth him riht ther in his furious teene,
And after hid him a-mong the bussches greene.

The moordre accomplisshid, Bern tourned hoom ageyn,
As he no-tyng knowen hadde of the caas.

And a day aftir whan Lothbrok was nat seyn,
The kyng enquired ech man where he was.
And in this while, rennyng a gret paas,
In kam his grehound, and fawne gan the kyng,
Fil doun toforn him ful pitously whynyng.

And whan the kyng had youe the grehound bred,
Out of the paleis a gret paas he ran
Streiht to his maister, where as he lay ded.
And in this tyme the kyng merueile began
And enquired of many dyuers man :
So longe absent where Lothbrok shulde be,
Almost thre daies, that no-man koude him se.

Wherof the kyng fil in suspecion,
Gan ymagyne that it was not a-riht,
Ful diligently made inquisicioun
Yif any man hadde had of him a siht.
But on the morwe aftir the thridde nyht
Onys ageyn the grehound dide appere,
Fawnyng the kyng with a ful pitous cheere.

Wherupon the kyng gan caste anoon
He wolde the maner fynde out and espie
Vnto what place the grehound wolde goon ;
Cerchid out by prudent policie,
Assigned a knyht to folwe to that partie
In secre wise, to knowe what it mente,
Why so ofte the grehound kam and wente.

Aftir the grehound the knyht gan folwe a paas,
Most secrely, and maad therof no tale.
By whom he kam there as Lothbrocus was
Hid vnder leues in a couert uale,
His wounde bloody, his face ded and pale.

His eyen gastlewh seuersid bothe tweyne,
His hound aside which dide his deth compleyne.

Moordre wil out, thouth it abide a while,
Lyk his decert, he must receyue his meede.—
For of this treson and fals compassid gile
The venymous roote began first of hatreede.
For it was founde that Bern hath doon this deede,
By certeyn signes, and forto make a preeff
To knowe the trouthe the grehound was most
cheff.

Whan kyng Edmond had fully apparceyued
From poynt to poynt the mater how it stood,
How this moordre by Bern was first conceyued
Of fals enuye, which maade his herte wood,
And how to god the vois gan crye of blood,
To doon of riht vengeance, as him ouhte,
Vpon the traitour that this treson wrouhte :

The kyng of riht was meued to do lawe,
To punyssh this deede hatful and horryble.
Bern was arrestid, which myht him nat withdrawe,
Aftir conuict by toknes ful credible,
Dempt and foriuged that in al haste possible
For-to be lad onto the same stronde
Wher first the barge of Lothbrok kam to londe.

Into that vessel, the story is weel knowe,
Which nouthur hadde oore, seil nor mast,
Folwyng the cours what coost the wind list blowe,
This said Bern be Juggement was cast.
Tween wynd and wawe his barge almost brast,
Fordryue by rokkis and many hidous roche :
Til toward Denmark his vessel gan approche.

And so be-fil of sodeyn auenture,
As hap and fortune list for him purchase :
With gret myschef the lond he gan recure
And was up dreuen in the same place
Wher Lothbrocus was wont for his solace
To goon on haukyng, whil he was alyue :
Wher Bern the hunte of fortune dide aryue.
The barge of Lothbrok in Denmark was weel
knowe,

But of his deth they know no-maner thyng
Nor to what coost the wyndes hadde him blowe
Nor what was falle of him that was here kyng.
But fals Bern at his up-komyng
Was tak anoon and lad forth by the hond
To forn too prynces, which gouerned al that lond.

These princes tweyne, sonys to Lothbrok,
Hynguar and Vbba callid in tho daies,
In ful streiht wise the said Bern the took,
Of him tenquere they made no delaies,
Constreynyng him bi rigerous assaies
To discure a-mong his peynes alle
Of ther fadir what that was befalle.

This cursid Bern, enuyous and riht fals
And of complexioun verray saturnyne,
Worthi to been hangid bi the hals
Or to be rakkid with a broke chyne,
With face pale and tonge serpentyne
Reportid hath in his malencolie.
How kyng Edmund slouh Lothbrok of enuye,
And how this slaughtre was doon in despit

Of ther lyne and of ther roial blood.
That thei of haste withoute more respit,
Knowyng the deth of Lothbrok how it stood,
To Bern gaf credence, which that maad hem wood,
Of verray rancour and furyous cruelte
Caste on kyng Edmund auengid forto be.

And bi assent these cruel prynces tweyne,
Hyngwar and Vbba, of hatreed and enuye
Thoruh al Denmark proudly gan ordeyne
To gadre in haste al the cheualrye,
Maad assemble a passyng-gret nauye.
Twenti thousand of fyhtyng men thei hadde,
Which bi the se to ynglandward thei ladde.

And Berne the hunte, as ye shal vndirstonde,
Vndertook the shippis forto leede
Towards the coostis of Estynglonde.
But Eolus contrary was in deede,
Which drof ther vessell to Berwyk upon Tweede:
At which port the story doth deseryue
How that thei weren compellid for taryue.

Afftir this londyng a-brood thei gan hem drawe
Thoruh al the North heldyng ther passage,
And al the peeple that heeld of Cristis lawe
Thei slouh hem up, bothe old and yong of age;
Cherches, Abbeys thei spoilid in her rage;
Fully purposyng, as the story seith,
To slen alle tho that heeld of Cristis feith.

These woode prynces, these tirantis most cruel,
To god contrarie and to lawe of nature,
Be title of wil, as any tigres fel,

To moordre and robbe spared no creature.
Certeyn yeres there thei dede endure,
Void of al mercy and good conscience,
No riht pretendyng sauf wil and violence.

After tyme of certeyn yeres space,
Euer enduryng in ther fals cruelte,
Hyngwar purposid forto change his place,
Left Vbba stille in the north contre,
And took with him a passyng-gret meyne
Toward Estyngland, yf it wolde auaile,
Of fals presumpcion kyng Edmund for tassaile.

And with his meyne ther he his tentis piht,
In sondry places where he dide hosteie.
The peeple oppressid durst nat with him fiht
Nor in no wise his biddyng disobeie.
Thus, by force this tirant gan werreie
The Innocent peeple by strengthe and myhti hond,
Thoruh euery contre of Estynglond.

This was the maner of him and his men :
Of euery age to slen alle tho he mette,
Nother spared childre nor women ;
Pite nor praier myhte nat his swerd lette.
Thus procedyng, it happed that he sette
His paueliouns upon a pleyn contre,
Which stood nat ferr fro Thetforde the cite.

And as I fynde, he entryng in that toun,
Of his komyng the ceteseynes vnprouyded,
Sleyng the peeple, as he wente up and doun—
For lik as sheepe they stood alone, vnguyded,
Withoute an hed, dispers and eek deuyded :

And as beestis with swerd of vengeance
Thei were oppressid and koude no cheuysance ;

Thus first the tyrant gan his malis shewe,
By cruel vengeance the cite despoilyng ;
He spared no sect, sauf he kepte a fewe
Of folkes old, vnweeldy and haltyng,
Vpon ther deth for febilnesse languysshying :
Such as he dempte, platly for-to seye,
That were not worthy on his swerd to deye.

This tirant Hyngwar by feer gan them compelle,
Voidyng delaies forto teche hem where
Or in what castel kyng Edmund dide duelle,
And of his puissance thei gan also enquere,
And that thei shulde conueie him and lere
Toward the place, or geten him a guyde,
Where his houshold that tyme dide abide.

For verray dreed these folkes feeble and olde,
Of ther lyues stondyng in Jupartye,
Vnto Hyngwar the place anon thei tolde,
And with his host thei lad him that partye
Wher as kyng Edmond with his cheualrye
Withynne Castre,¹ a place delectable,
His houshold heeld, ful roial and notable.

But whan kyng Edmond knew of his comyng
And of the paynymes the maner herde seyn,
Ful lik a knyht he made no tarieng

¹ Here Lydgate seems to mistake the meaning of 'in quodam castro suo' (Bodl. 240. *Nova Legenda Anglie*, 1901, p. 581) by treating 'castro' as a place-name, i.e. Caistor. In the later version (Ashmolean) the error is corrected, and the line runs 'at Elysdone a place ful delytable.'

But with his power, statly, weel beseyn,
Beside Thetforde he mette him on a pleyn.
Ther wardis set and sheltrouns in bataile
Euerich gan other ful mortally assaile.

From the morwe that the larke song,
Whan in Thorient Phebus shoon ful bryht,
Thei first assemblid, on outhur party strong,
And so contynued in ther mortal fyht;
The slaughtre last til it drouh to nyht:
For with his knyhtis that kyng Edmond ladde
Of paynym blood ful gret plente he shadde.

Edmond that day was Cristis champioun,
Preeuyng him-silf a ful manly knyht;
Among sarseyne he pleied the lioun:
For they lik sheepe fledde out of his syht.
Maugre the Danyis he put Hyngwar to flyht:
For wher his swerd that day dide glyde,
Ther was no paynym afforn him durste abyde.

The soil of slaughtre I-steynynd was with blood,
The sharp swerd of Edmond turnyd red:
For ther was noon that his strook withstood
Nor durste abide afforn him for his hed;
And many a paynym in the feeld lay ded,
And many cristene in that mortal striff
Our feith defendyng that day loste his liff.

Out of the feeld Hyngwar is a-goon,
With his meyne, whan it drouh to nyht.
Ded in that bataile abood ful manyoon.
And blessid Edmond, as Cristes owne knyht,
Gan to considere in his owyn siht

And streyhtly peisen, this holy kyng most good,
What pereile folwith to shede so moche blood.

Withynne him-sylff he dempte of equite
Of paynym blood the gret effusioun
Caused in soth thoruh ther Iniquite
Perpetuely ther dampnacioun,
And how in helle was no redempcioun ;
And of cristene thouhte, of verray trouthe,
To seen such slaughtre it was to gret a routhe.

Thouh he was bothe manly and vertuous
And a good knyht, his story thus deuyseth,
Yit of prudence this kyng victorious
In his memorie narwely aduertisith
How good conscience ageyn slaughtre agrysith :
Werfore of purpos a uow he made in deede
Neuer his liff no blood to sheede.

He hadde a routhe that goddis creature,
Which rassemblid his liknesse and ymage,
Sholde in helle eternal payne endure
Thoruh mysbeleue for paganysme rage ;
Considered also : it was to gret damage
Tween too peeples to seen such mortal stryues,
Soules to Juparte and losse eek of ther lyues.

Ofte in his mynde and his remembrance
This pitous mater was tournyd up so doun :
Dempte onto god it was gret displeasance
To seen of blood so gret effusioun ;
Makyng an heste of hool affeccioun
Duryng his lif, as him thouhte it dew,
For Cristis sake shedyng of blood teschew.

Remembryng also how Cryst upon a cros
 Lyst shede his blood, our ransoun for taquite,
 And of his power the thridde day aros,
 By mercy only, with pes men to respite—
 For euer in pes he doth him most delite :
 For which kyng Edmond his corage hath applied
 To leue the werre and be with pes allied,
 Folwyng the traces of our Lord Jhesu
 Which loued ay pes and list no-man werreie :
 Bexauple of whom with pes took his issu
 Withynne his herte to close him vnder keie ;
 Which forto keepe he redy was to daie.
 And whil the kyng in pes thus doth soiourne,
 To speke of Hyngwar my stile I wil retourne.

This chapitle declarith the Title of the martirdam of Edmond,
 the kyng of Estyngland.

Whan cruel Hyngwar maugre al his myht
 Constreyned was the feeld to forsake
 And with his meyne was I-put to flyht,
 A dedly hatreed gan in his herte a-wake,
 Hym to purueie a vengeance for-to take ;
 And heer-upon a werm most serpentyne
 Of fals enuye gan in his herte myne.

His folk disparpiled he gan gadere ageyn,
 To make him strong dide his diligence.
 Eek of his myscheff whan Vbba herde seyn,
 With ten thousand kam to his presence.
 Cruel of herte, bothe of oon sentence,

Conspired in haste of froward cursidnesse
By way of vengeance kyng Edmond to oppresse.

Tofore Thetforde bothe of oon assent,
Of marcial pride and pompous fel outrage
Thei heeld a counseil, and therupon han sent
Vnto kyng Edmond a surquedous massage,
By them deuysid, contrary of language,
Theron concludyng a sentence ful peruerse
Vndir these wordis which I shal reherse.

First in al haste foorth goth the massager
Sent by Hyngwar, a ful froward knyht,
Malencolius of face, look and cheer,
Of port despitous and coleryk of syht,
Doyng no reuerence to maner wiht,
Sauf to the kyng, knelyng, he gan abraide
In fel language and thus to him he saide :

‘The myhti prynce, most victorious
On lond and se, of power Inuyncible,
Most to be drad, most marcial, most famous,
Notable in conquest, more than it is credible—
Whom to descryue it is an Inpossible :
My lord Hyngwar, as thou shalt vndirstonde,
By me of trust sent to the this sonde :

He chargith the and yeueth the counsail
Tobeie his preceptis and therupon tabide,
And the comandith, to thi gret auail,
For thi sauacion afforn to prouyde,
Al thyng contrary forto sette a-aide
That shulde rebelle ageyn his hih puissance,
And the submytte vnto his ordynance ;

This eek his wil that thow, nat maligne
 To disobeie his lustis in no thyng,
 Into his hand thy kyngdam to resigne,
 To paie a tribut, and vnder him be kyng;
 And eek thow mustest accomplishe his axyng
 Thi roial tresoures and thi richesces olde
 With him to parte, of ryht as thou art holde;
 Ouer al thyng this charge on the he leith
 And the comandith shortly in sentence:
 First to forsake of Cristen-dam the feith,
 And, to his goddis that thow do reuerence,
 To offre onto them with franc and with encence.
 Be weel auysed thow make no delay
 Al this taccomplishe, and sey nat onys nay!
 And he ageynward of his magnyficence
 Shal to the grante a statly fayr guerdoun:
 Assigne tresour onto thi dispence,
 And vnder him regne in this regioun.
 To these requestis make no rebellioun:
 For, yif thou do, thou shalt lese in this stryff
 Thy kyngdam first, thy tresour, and thy lyff.
 Loo heer theeffect of myn ambassiat—
 To the I haue nomore in charge to seyn.
 Thi counseil tak of folk of hih estat,
 Shortly concludyng, and lese no tyme in veyn:
 What to my lord I shal reporte ageyn;
 Mak no delaies of that we han in hande,
 Reherse in substance wherto he shal stande!
 The kyng, nat rakel, but of hih prudence,
 As he that was discret, manly and wys,

Lyst for noon haste lese his pacience ;
Thouh he this mater sette at lital pris,
Yit he purposed to heere and se thauys
Of a bisshop, which that stood beside,
By his counseil an answeere to prouyde.

The Bisshop stondyng in a perplexite
At such a streit what was forto seyne—
For of discrecioun he pleyntyly did se,
Lyk as thenbassiat dide his wit constreyne,
How this mater requered oon of tweyne :
Outher tendure, for short conclusioun,
Void of al respit deth or subieccioun :

Toward the kyng with a ful pitous cheer,
The said bisshop, gan to tourne his face,
Which, for astonyd of this sodeyn mateer,
Koude yeue no counseil in so short a space—
Such mortal dreed gan al his look difface
That he vnnethe had no woord to speke ;
Til atte laste thus he gan out breke :

‘ To holde a feeld ye stonden vnpurueied,
Heer atte hand your enmy is batailid ;
Yif his requestis of you be disobeied,
Your castel heer is lyk to been assailid,
Of men nat stuffid, nouthur weel vitailid :
And of too harmys at so streiht a prykke
It were wisdam to chese the lasse wykke.

Fro Cristis feith so that ye not flitte,
Hool in your herte that it be conserued,
By dissymylyng ye may your-self submytte,
Sithe the kyngdam shal to you be reserued ;

And that your lif may be fro deth conserued,
Your-silff submyttyng ye may dissymyle and feyne
For a tyme, til god list bet ordeyne.'

This bisshop hadde a ferful tendirnesse,
A Jelous dreed in his ymagynatiff;
Seyng the mater stonde in such streihtnesse
As iupartie of the kynges liff,
Knew no diffence nor preseruatif
As for the tyme in his opynyoun,
Nor noon auoidance, sauf symylacioun.

But blissid Edmond was not born to feyne—
Yt longid not onto his roial blood;
His herte euer on, departed not on tweyne,
Hatid too heedis closid in oon hood;
So stable and hool withynne his soule he stood
By manly force, of o face and of o cheer,
Caste otherwise to gouerne this mateer.

He was endewed with alle the giftes seuene
Of tholigost, this Cristes champion.
Of hooly feruence cast up his look to heuene
And inly syhhed of hih deuocioun;
Void of all feynyng and symylacioun,
Lyk goddis knyht manly dide abraide,
Vnto the bisshop euene thus he saide:

'O, sere bisshop, sholde I me now withdrawe,
Shewe by dissymylyng a maner variance?
Force to put of with force, is good lawe;
But this mater requereth in substance
To be peised more iustly in ballance—
What sholde profite to my concyence
Wynne al this world and to god doon offence?

Ther is in soth a nothir cheuysance
Heer in this world for thyngis temporal,
And a nother gostly purueiance
Touchyng the thynges that been celestial;
For wordly men Juparte lif and al,
Slen ther neyhboures, only to gete good;
But goddis lawe forbit shedyng of blood.

This proude legat of this tirant seith
And first purposith in his legarie
That I sholde forsake Cristes feith
And falle falsly in tapostasie,
Submytte my crowne and my regalie,
Aftir these thynges were fro me withdrawe,
To cerymonyes of paganysmes lawe.

But there anoieth noon aduersite
Where domynacion hath noon interesse,
Of froward malys nor of Iniquite—
For alwey trouthe al falsheed shal oppresse.
Tirantis may regne and floure in the richesse
As for a while, floreshyng in their sesoun,
Til thei vnwarly go to dampnacioun.

And for my part, al lordshepe set a-side,
To Cristes feith to which I haue me
take,

For lyf or deth thereon I shal abide
Vnto my laste, and neuer my lord forsake,
Which on a cros deied for my sake:
So for his loue and feith to-gidre in deede
I wil weel suffre my blood for him to
sheede.'

And heerupon this kyng most ful of grace,

Most pacient and most benigne of cheer,
Lyk goddis knyht, gan to tourne his face
Bi gret ays toward the massager
That kam from Hyngwar, and bad him neyhen neer,
Ley to ere, to herkne in pleyn language
A ful answer touchyng his massage :

‘Go to thi lord in al haste possible,
To him reporte pleylnly as I seie
As for answer stable and most credible :
How Cristes feith I neuer shal disobeie,
But for his lawe spende my blood and deie,
Lyk my beheste whan I Sathan forsook
And of his feith the stole and ryng I took.

Thi lord behestith thre thynges onto me :
This kyngdam, which that I do possede,
And of his tresour he grantith me plente ;
But of his richesse, god wot, I haue no neede,
And of my lif I haue no-maner dreede—
Sauf I wolde for my most hertis ese
Rathere lese al than onys god displese.

And, out of subieccioun with al extort seruage,
In Cristes feith I stonde at liberte,
Maugre thi lord and al thi proud language.
Shedyng of blood and al mortalite
Causid of werre, shal be left of me ;
And Cristes lawe to meynteyne and diffende,
With humble suffrance my lif I wil dispende.’

This proude knyht, afor from Hyngwar sent,
Ys tournyd ageyn, of indignacion,
And hath reported the kynges hool entent,

How he wil neuer thoruh no collusion
Forsake his feith, by no condicion,
But rather to been, forto seie in woordes fewe,
With sharpe swerdis on smale pecis hewe ;
 ‘ The paynym sect he hath in hih despit ;
To submytte him he demeth it were outrage ;
Blood forto sheede he hath noon appetit,
And to been armyd he hath left his corage ;
Affermeth platly and seith in pleyn language :
He moost desireth a-boue al wordly good
For Cristis feith to deie and spende his blood.

And to ffranchise his kyngdam and contre,
He hath a corage, that he him-self a-lone,
So his peeples myht stonde at liberte,
To suffre deth meekly in his persone.
More with the world he wil nat haue to doone.
His manly knyhtis, soudiours nyh and ferre
Pes to cherisshe, he hath yeue up the werre.’

Whan that Hyngwar this answer vndirstood,
With men of armys passyng a gret route
He doun descendith, as any tigre wood,
And hath the castell beseged al-a-boute.
Of whom kyng Edmond stood nothyng in doute,
For Cristis loue list no diffence make,
But of hool herte to deie for his sake.

He listnat suffre that no-man sholde lette
The seid tirant nor make no diffence,
Nor that no wiht the gatis sholde shette.
For which in haste bi sturdy violence
Blissid Edmond was brouht to presence

Affor the tirant, sitting in his estat,
Lyk as was Cryst whilom tofor Pilat.

This Ingwar first with furious contynance
His couert malis began thus to vnclose :
Of Cristis feith with euery circumstance
Most cruely he gan him to oppose,
Him comandying withoutyn any glose
Forto declare, and nat a poynt withdrawe,
Yif his profession were maad onto that lawe.

‘ Certes, quod Edmond, I wol weel that thou knowe :
To Crist al hool with body and herte
I am professid, what wynd that euer blowe ;
That fro his feith I shal neuer dyuerte
For lyf nor deth, for ioie nor for smerte,
But to contynue in euery auenture
Withoute chang, whil that my lif may dure.

For ther is nouthur tresor nor richesse—
Rekne of erthe al the pocessiouns—
Power of prynces and ther pompous noblesse,
With al the manacis of tirantis and felouns ;
Thy furious thretis, thyn adulaciouns,
With al thy puissance shal me nat remeue
Fro Cristis lawe nor fro his iust beleue.

Thow maist thi swerd whette sharp and keene
And me disembre ioynt fro ioynt assonder,
Lyk a tirant in thi contagious teene
Me disseuere pecemeel heer and yonder ;
But triste weel, and haue heerof no wonder :
It passith thy myht and pompous violence
In Cristes feith to arte my conscience.

And o woord, first as I the tolde :
As I began so I wil perseuere,
My feith, my baptem iustly I wil holde
Vnto my laste, and so enduren euere ;
Fro my professioun I wil departe neuere ;
Thow maist manace and slen my body heer,
My soule franchised is fer from thy poweer.

Do thi beste ! thi rychessis I despise ;
Thow shalt of me han no subieccioun,
Nor fro my lawe restreyne me in no wise,
To make me halte in my professioun.
And herkne a woord, in short conclusioun :
Of my body thow thow haue victorie,
My soule shal lyue and regne with Crist in glorie.

In my diffence I haue set a strong feeld
Vpon a ground of long perseuerance,
Of Cristes feith deuysed a myhti sheeld,
A gostly swerd whettid with constance,
And a cloos brest of hope in my creance,
Of loue and dreded, my body for tassure,
Hool, vndepartid shal be my Cotearmure ;

A spere of trust vpward erect to heuene,
Squared the hed ffeith, hope and charite,
Which shal reche aboue the sterrys seuene
Tofor that lord, bothe on, too, and thre,
Vnto whos grace I submytte me,
And for his sake, as I ouhte of ryht,
Redy to deie as his owyn knyht.

And for his loue to suffre passioun
I am maad strong with herte, wil and cheer

The palme of victory as goddis champioun
 It to conquere, whil that I am heer ;
 Of Cristis cros I sette up my baneer,
 Bexaample of martirs, which with ther bloody hew
 Gat heuenly tryumphes, al clad in purpil hew.

Thus I desire forto been arraied,
 As a meek seruant tofor my lord tapere ;
 For him to suffre I am nat disamaied,
 My god, my makere, my saueour most entere,
 Which with his blood bouht me so dere ;
 And sithe for me he suffred so gret payne,
 To deie for him, alas why sholde I feyne ?

Wherefore, Hyngwar, make heerof no dellaies ;
 Fro Cristes feith I neuer shal declyne.
 Thy thret, thy manaces, nor al thin hard assaies
 Shal for no dreed withynne myn herte myne.
 And myn entent at o woord to termyne :
 As Cristis knyht of hool herte I defie
 Alle fals goddis and al ydolatrie.'

Off this language Hyngwar wex nyh wood,
 Made the kyng strongly to be bounde
 And comandid, afforn him as he stood,
 First to be bete with shorte battis rounde,
 His body brosid with many mortal wounde.
 And euer the martir among his peynes alle
 Meekly to Jhesu for helpe he gan to calle.

The cheef refuge and supportacioun
 In his suffrance was humble pacience ;
 Loue to his herte gaff consolacioun,
 With gostly feer quekid the feruence—
 For charite feelith no violence :

For wher charite afforceth a corage,
There is of peyne founde non outrage.

The cursid Danys of newe cruelte
This martyr took, most gracious and benigne,
Of hasty rancour bounde him to a tre,
As for ther marke to sheete at, and ther signe.
And in this wise, ageyn hym thei maligne,
Made him with arwis of ther malis most wikke
Rassemble an yrchoun fulfillid with spynys thikke :

As was the martyr seynt Sebastyan,
Bothe in our feith lyk of condiciouns.
Red by his sides the roial blood doun ran,
And euer to Jhesu he maade his orisouns.
Thus with the tryumphes of ther passiouns
Blissid martirs, with crownes laureat,
Cleyme hih in heuene to regne in ther estat.

Danys with arwes hookyd, sharpe and grounde
Spenten ther shot, fersere than liouns,
Most mortally, as wóunde ay upon wounde
Renewid ageyn the deepe impressiouns.
What shal I write of Cristis champiouns,
Which whilom thouhte it dide her herte good
To wasshe ther stols in the lambis blood ?

In heuene bi grace they cleyme to haue an hoom,
Folwyng the traces of Crist that is ther hed,
Which lik a geant descendid from Edoom
And hadde in Bosra his clothis died red ;
Which feedith his knyhtes with sacryd wyn and
bred,

Set at his table in the heuenly mansioun,
That drank the chalis heer of his passioun.

And a-mong martirs, pleynty to termyne,
With his garnement died red as blood
Edmund was pressid with grapys in the vyne,
Vnto a tre bounde whan he stood,
To-torn and rent with tigris that were wood,
And thoruh-pershid euery nerff and veyne,
Thynkyng for Crist to suffre was no peyne.

This mene-while whan Hyngwar did him se
And sauh his body steynyng al in red,
He maade his knyghtis reende him fro the tre
And comanded to smytyn of his hed.
But the holy martir of oo thyng took first heed :
Required a space to maken his praier ;
And most deuoutly saide, as ye shal heer :

‘O Lord god, which of beneuolence
Thi blissid sone sentist to erthe doun,
To been incarnat for our gret offence,
And, of our trespas to make redempcioun,
Vpon a cros suffrede passiou—
Nat of our merit, but of thyn hih pite,
Fro Sathanys power to make us to go fre :

Now graunte me, Lord, of thy magnificence,
Of thyn hih mercy and benygnyte,
In my deyng to haue meek pacience,
And in my passiou forto grante me
By meek exauple to folwe the charite
Which thou haddist hangyng on the roode,
Whan thou list deie for our alder goode.

Now in myn eende grante me ful constance,
That I may deyen as thy trewe knyght

And with the palme of hool perseuerance
Parfourme my conquest only for thy riht ;
That cruel Hyngwar, which stant in thy siht,
May neuer reioise nor putte in memorye
Of my soule that he gat victorye.

Vnto Tirantis ys nat victoryous
Thouh they thy seruantis slen off fals hatrede ;
For thylke conquest is more glorious
Wher that the soule hath of deth no dreede.
Now, blissid Jhesu, for myn eternal meede,
Only of mercy, medlyd with thy ryht,
Receyue the speryt of me that am thy knyht !'

And with that woord he gan his nekke enclyne,
His hed smet off, the soule to heuene wente.
And thus he deied, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.
In gostly feruence so hoothe his herte brente :
His liffe, his blood for Cristys sake he spent ;
Such heuently grace god list vnto hym sende :
With grace he gan, with grace he made an eende.

Danyes of despit the body ther forsook,
A glorious tresour of gret worthynesse ;
But of the martyr the holy hed they took
And bar it forth of froward cursidnesse
In tacouert, shrowded with thyknesse
Of thornys sharpe, the story makith mynde,
And ther they hid it, that no-man shulde it
fynde.

Bvt blissid Jhesu, which euery thyng may se,
His holy martir listnat so forsake,
Bvt of his grace and merciful pite,

Knowyng that he deied for his sake,
 Suffred a wolf his holy hed to take
 And to conserue it ageyn assautis alle,
 That foul nor beeste sholde upon it falle—

An vnkouth thyng and strange, ageyn nature,
 That a beeste furyous of felnesse,
 Which of custum doth ay his bestial cure
 With mannys flessch to stanche his gredynesse ;
 But now he hath forgotten his woodnesse
 And meekly lith awaytyng nyht and day
 Vpon the hed, as for a synguler pray !—

Thus kan the lord his martyrs magnefie
 Of his goodnesse with many fair myracle,
 The rage of beestis appese and modefie ;
 Ageyn whos myht may been noon obstacle :
 Which hath heer shewid a wonderful spectacle :
 That a fers wolff bamaner obseruance
 To serue the martyr list doon his attendance.

But to his myht no thyng is Impossible.
 Danyel was sauff among the fers lyouns,
 Seyn John Baptist—record on the bible—
 Lyued in desert mong serpentis and dragouns.
 And among Crystis myhty champiouns
 Kyng Edmond hadde, his story seith the same,
 A wolff to keepe hym—there was no lamb more tame.

This chapitle declaryth how crystene men, aftir the perse-
 cucioun off Danys was appesid, how they souhte aftir the
 hed of the blyssyd Martyr.

Whan swagid was the dreedful Tyrannyc
Of cruel Hyngwar in this regioun,
That he and Vbba with al ther cheualrye
Withdrouh in party ther persecucioun :
The crystene peeple of hih deuocioun
Assemblyd wern, fully purposyng
To seeke the body of ther holy kyng.

And compleyned atwixen hope and dreed
Whan they hadde his blissid body founde,
That they wanted and failed of the hed.
Forwhich they wepte with syhhes ful profounde,
Sekyng the forest and the valys rounde
With blast of hornys, with rachchis and with houndys,
Thoruh Heylesdone serchyng al the boundys.

And by a maner replicacioun
Ech onto other gan crye in ther walkyng :
' Wher is our confort, our consolacioun ?
Wher is, allas, the hed now of our kyng ?'—
This was ther noise with sobbyng and wepyng—
' Allas, allas, shal we be thus destitut
Of our cheef Joie, our blisse and our refut ?

Suffre vs onys beholde thy blyssid face
And seen at leiser thyn angelyk visage ;
Bowe thyn eeris to our compleynt be grace
Forto relese our constreynt and our rage ;
Allas, Edmond, appese now our damage,
And to our compleynt of mercy condescende
For noon but thow our myscheuys may amende !'

The lord of lordys celestial and eterne,
Of his peeple hauyng compassioun,

Which of his mercy ther clamours kan concerne,
 Relesse ther langour and lamentacioun :
 Herde of his goodnesse ther Inuocacioun
 And gaff hem counfort of that they stood in dreed :
 Only by grace to fynde ther kynges hed.

Wyth wepyng terys, with vois most lamentable
 So as they souhte, walkyng her and ther,
 'Where artow, lord, our kyng most agreable ?
 Wher artow, Edmond ? shew vs thyn heuenly cher !'
 The hed answerde thryes : her, her, her,
 And neuer cesid of al that longe day
 So for-to crye, tyl they kam where he lay.

This heuenly noise gan ther hertis lyhte
 And them releue of al ther heuynesse,
 Namly whan they hadde of the hed a syhte,
 Kept by a wolff feryetyng his woodnesse.
 Al this considered, they meekly gan hem dresse
 To thanke our lord, knelyng on the pleyne,
 For the gret myracle which that they haue seyne.

They thouhte it was a merueile ful vnkouth
 To heere this language of a dedly hed.
 But he, that gaff into the assis mouth
 Swych speech of old, rebukyng in his dreed
 Balaam the prophete for his vngoodly heed :
 The same lord list of his grete myht
 Shewen this myracle at reuerence of his knyht.

Men han eek rad how in semblable cas,
 As bokes olde make meneyoun,
 How that an hert spak to seynt Eustas—
 Which was first cause of his conuersioun.
 For god hath power and Jurysdiccioun

Make tongis speke of bodies that be ded—
Record I take of kyng Edmond's hed.

Off this myracle that god list to hem shewe
Somme wepte for Joie, the story berth witnesse ;
Vpon ther cheekys terys nat a ffewe
Distillid a-doun of ynward kyndnesse—
They hadde no power ther sobbyngis to repressen,
Twen Joie and sorwe by signes out shewyng
How gret enternesse they hadde vnto ther kyng.

Thus was ther wepyng medlyd with gladnesse,
And ther was gladnesse medlyd with wepyng ;
And hertly sobbyng meynt with ther swetnesse,
And soote compleyntes medlyd with sobbyng—
Accord discordyng, and discord accordyng !
For for his deth thowh they felte smerte,
This sodeyn myracle reioisid ageyn ther herte.

The folkys dide ther bysy dilligence
This holy tresour, this relik souereyne
To take it uppe with dew reuerence,
And bar it forth, tyl they dide atteyne
Vnto the body, and of thylke twayne
Togidre set, god by myracle anon
Enyoyned hem, that they were maad bothe
oon.

Off ther departyng ther was no-thing seene
A-twen the body and this blissid hed,
For they togidre fastnyd were so cleene ;
Except only, who sotylly took heed,
A space appered breede of a purpil threed,
Which god list shewe tokne of his suffrance,
To putte his passioun more in remembrance.

The said wolff in maner gan compleyne
That he so hih a tresor hath forgo ;
To folwe the martir dide his besy peyne,
Wolde in no wise departe the body froo :
Of bestial loue felte a maner woo,
Forto disseuere thouhte a gret penance
Fro thylke thyng where stood al his plesance.

It is no merueile, the beeste was not to
blame,
Thouh he were wo to parte fro his richesse !
Which ageyn nature maad him to be tame,
That to no-man he shewed no fersnesse,
Tyme of thexequyes compleynnyng his distresse ;
And meekly aftir to woode wente ageyn
Most doolfully, and was neuer aftir seyn.

Vnto the body of this glorious kyng
Beside the place wher he dide endure,
Anoon at Oxne, a place of smal beldyng,
They ful deuoutly maade a sepulture.
Whos martirdam by record of scripture
Was tyme of yeer, as I can remembre,
Vpon a monday the moneth of Decembre :

On which day the moone was of age
Too and twenty by computacioun ;
Indiccion tweyne reknyd in our language,
Eyhte hundrid yeer fro the Incarnacioun
And seuenty ouer, as maad is mencion,
Whan the holy martir was by acontis cleer
Day of his passioun of age thretty yeer.

On which day, his legende makith memorye,

He suffred deth and cruell passioun
 And with a palme celestiall of victorie
 Be grace is entrid the heuenly mansioun,
 Wynnyng a tryumphe most souereyn of renoun,
 As kyng and martir, wher he maynot mysse
 Eternaly for-to regne in blysse.—

Now, glorious martir, which of gret meeknesse
 For Crystes feith suffredist passioun,
 Qwyke my penne, enlumyne my rudnesse,
 To my dulnesse make a direccioun,
 That I may vndir thy supportacioun
 Conpile the story hangyng on this matere
 Off seyn Fremond, thyn owyn cosyn dere !

Thoruh thy fauour I cast me for tassaye
 To declare of humble affeccoun
 How seyn Fremond be myracle dide outraye
 Hyngwar and Vbba thoruh his hih renoun,
 And them venquysshid in this regioun ;
 First write his liff, and therupon proceede,
 As god and grace list my penne leede,

Folwen myn Auctour, that wrot his liff toforn
 In frensh and latyn, of gret auctorite ;
 Off the trouthe gadren out the corn
 And voide the chaff of prolixite ;
 Reherse the merueilles of his natyuyte,
 Aftir to godward how he dide him quyte.
 A litil prologue afforn I wil endite.

The third book of Lydgate's poem begins with the legend of S. Fremund, for which the conclusion of the second book had prepared us. This legend is introduced by a head-note which

runs as follows :—‘Incipit vita sancti Fremundi egregii martiris, Edmundi carissimi consanguinei, qui ejusdem martiris interfectores domino (!adjuvante) prostravit graciose; una cum miraculis Edmundi martyris antedicti, prout in post sequentibus clarius elucescit.’ The story of S. Fremund runs to nearly 850 lines, which are not printed here *in extenso*, as being largely immaterial to the purpose of this book. Some extracts, however, are reproduced in order to illustrate the unstable and varying features of the legend of S. Edmund :—

Lines 71-77—

‘A cosyn of this hooly kyng
 Callid Fremundus, was manly and notable,
 Ful merueilously, by record of wrytyng
 Ordeyned was, this story is no fable,
 Vpon Hyngwar for-to be vengable
 And ageyn Ubba, which in ther cruel rage
 Hadde slayn his vncle, tho thretty yeer of age.’

Lines 162-3—

‘Off Burchardus folwe I shall the style,
 That of Seyn Fremund whilom was secretarye’;

Lines 169-177—

‘To kyng Offa Fremund was sone and hayr
 Regnyng in Mershlond, the story berth witnesse;
 His moodir Botild, riht goodly and riht fayr
 And a womman of gret parfihnesse,
 Longe bareyn, the story doth expresse,
 And she was suster, and lik in many a thyng
 Unto Seyn Edmund, the holy glorious kyng.
 The kyng, the queen wer fere ronne in age,
 And all this while Botild was bareyn.’

Offa and Botild were heathens. They were 'conuerte vnto our feith' late in life by their son Fremund, in whose favour they

'By prudent counsail cast hem to resygne

Sceptre and crowne with all the Regalie.'—*Lines* 285-6.

Public acclaim seconded the parents' wishes, and Fremund was crowned king and reigned for a year (l. 330), when he abdicated and became a hermit, 'with other tweyne,' living for 'the space fully of seuene yeere' on nuts and acorns, 'fruit and rootis of the grounde.'

Lines 411-13—

'In that tyme the book makith mencion,

Yngwar and Vbba with Danys aryuing

Slough Seynt Edmund, martir, maide, and kyng';

Lines 421-2—

'Hys brother-in-lawe for verray impotence of crokid age'

sent messengers to seek for and summon Fremund to oppose the Danes. Fremund, with his two companion anchorites, and twenty-two of his father's messengers, attacked the invaders at 'Radforde,' or Ratforde, killed 40,000 of them, and gained a great victory. As he was returning thanks on his knees for this signal mark of Divine favour—

'oon Duc Oswy,

With kyng Offa, a prince off gret estat,

Afforn with Ingwar sworn and confederat,'

suddenly and treacherously cut off the victor's head.

Lines 559-567.

The remainder of the narrative, and the connection of the cult of S. Fremund with places in Warwickshire, and with

Dunstable, need not be pursued. From these particulars Lydgate passes to a new chapter of his third book, the miracles of S. Edmund.

BOOK III

MIRACULA SANCTI EDMUNDI.

A Thowsand yeer reknyd and thryttene
 Folwyng Crystes Incarnacioun,
 Mortal constreynt, an inportable teene
 Troubled al the lond off Brutis Albioun,
 Beyng that tyme kyng off that regioun
 Etheldredus, which by accountis cleer
 Was off his kyngdham the fourte and thretty yeer.

This newe trouble gan off stryues olde
 By them off Denmark, which off antiquyte
 Cast with this lond a warre forto holde
 Off wilful malice and compassid cruelte,
 As in cronycles men may reede and se :
 Which to contynue with strengthe and myhty hond
 Kyng Sweyn off newe is entred in this lond.

Tytle was ther noon but wilful tyrannye :
 By a maner off newe Intrusioun,
 Be Sweyn conspired, cleymyng the regalye,
 Off Danys ryht to haue pocessioun :
 He forto regne cleymyth by successioun.
 Entryng this lond, the story who lyst seen,
 Be extort power gan to brenne and slen,
 Spoiled menstres and holy cherches brente,

Robbed cites and euery famous toun,
And for a tribut thoruh al the lond he sente—
He list off pryde make noon excepcioun ;
His swerd off vengeance whet be extorcioun,
Off hatful yre and off furyous rage
Spared nouthur old nor yong off age.

In Etheldredus ther was no resistence,
Force to withstonde his cruel tyrannye ;
Riht was oppressid by mortal violence :
The kyng for feer fled in-to Normandie.
Thus, desolat, void off al cheualrye
Stood al the lond : which gaff gret hardynesse
To the tirant the peeple for-to oppresse.

To hooly places was do no reuerence,
Men slayn and moordred by vengable cruelte,
Wyues oppressid by sclandrous violence,
Widwes rauesshid loste ther liberte,
Maidnes diffouled by force ageyn pite,
Preesthod despised, religyous in disdeyn,
Be cruel hatrede off this tirant Sweyn.

Took up-on hym forto be callyd kyng,
Presumptuously, off force ageyn al ryht.
Wil was his guyde, collusion his werkyng,
His lawes gouerned be power and be myht—
Off rihtwisnesse eclipsid was the liht.
Gadryng off tresours, be gold to haue auayl,
Fraude and falsnesse wer cheff off his counsail.

Sette a trybut general on the lond—
With couetise he was so set affyre,
So fer off raayne he strechhid out his hond—

The mor he gadred, the mor he doth desire :
 Sent his collitours into euery shire,
 Spared nouthur, pleylnly to deuysel,
 Confermed off seyntes ffreddam nor ffranchise.

Gadrid in haste this tribut and talliage
 Be rauynours and robbours infernal,
 To hyndre the peeple by extort pillage,
 Delay excludid, mercy was noon attal.
 And for this tribut was so general,
 To Estyngland strechchid this axying,
 Wher seynt Edmund whilom was crownyd kyng.

The peeple, nat vsed to be Tributarye,
 Cleymed franchise off Edmund, ther patroun ;
 The rauelynours, aleggyng in contrarye,
 Were Inportune in ther exaccioun.
 The peeple a-geynward for ther proteccioun
 Knowyng no refut as in this mater
 Sauff to the martir to make ther praier :

Thus ryche and poore off al that regioun
 Off oon affeccioun with herte, wil and myht
 With deuout prayer for ther redempcioun
 Kam on pilgrymage with sondry tapris lyht
 To the hooly corseynt, ther wachchyng day and nyht,
 Besechyng hym his seruantis to socoure
 Ageyn the tirant that wolde hem deuoure,

Which paciently acountid ful ten yeer,
 Ingland, hath suffryd this tribut ful terryble,
 Fond fauour noon, groos nor particuler ;
 Constreynt off rygour was to hem odible :
 That to contynue they dempte an Inposible,

By pouert spoiled which made hem sore smerte,
Which as they thouhte craumpysshed at here herte.

They lay prostrat, knelyng aboute his shryne,
Women go barfoot pitously wepyng,
With letanyes preestis dede enclyne,
By abstynence the peeple long fastyng,
Men off religioun be prayer and wakyng :
Besouhte the martir ther fredam to renewe
And off his mercy on ther wo to rewe.

Ther requestis were nat maad in weyn :
For he that was cheeff Cubyculer
Aboute seynt Edmund and his chaumberleyn ;—
Alle off assent dyde ther deuer
To praie ther patroun to caste his eyen cleer,
His heuenly eyen, ther trouble to termyne,
With liht off confort ther hertis tenlumyne ;

Fyrst Ayllewyn, that cely creature,
Afforn his shryne vpon the pauement lay,
In his praiere deuoutly dyde endure,
Seelde or neuer parteden nyht nor day.
For whan so euer his lieges felte affray,
The peeple in hym hadde so gret beleue :
Thoruh his request Edmund sholde hem releue :—

The perfeccioun off Ayllewyn was so couth,
So renommed his conuersacioun ;
That many a tyme they spak to-gidre mouth be mouth
Touchyng hyh thynges off contemplacioun ;
Expert ful ofte be reuelacioun
Off heuenly thynges, to speke in woordes fewe,
Be gostly secretys which god lyst to hym shewe.—

And as he lay slepyng on a nyht :
Clad in a stole off angelik cleernesse
Whittere than snowh, powdryd with sterrys bryht,
Off cheer celestially, surmontyng off fairnesse,
His sterrysse eyen lik Phebus off fresshnesse,
With plesant language the martir gan abraide
And to his chapleyn euene thus he saide :

‘Go forth in haste, spille no tyme in veyn,
And looke thow do trewly my massage,
And in my name sey thus to kyng Sweyn :
That off my peeple he axe no truage :
Ther ffanchise is to stonde in auantage
From al trybut and al exaccioun
Vnder the wynges off my proteccioun.

‘Vexe nat my peeple, suffre hem lyue in pees,
Trouble nat the kalm off ther tranquyllite,
In thy requestis be nat so rekless,
To axe hem trybut yt longith nat to the,
Ther ffredam stablysshed off antiquyte.
Be war therfore, off malys nor off pryde
Be vsurpacioun thow sette it nat a-syde !

Thy wilful errour, in gros to comprehende,
Ya, for-to trouble me and my franchise,
To make hem wrongly ther goodis to dispende.
Be war therfore, and werke aftir the wise,
Myn enbassiat that thow nat despise,
For yiff thow do, pleynly to expresse,
God and I ther damagis shal redresse.’

Toward morwe whan Ayllewyn awook,
He was somdel abasshed in his corage.

To Geynesborough the ryht way he took ;
God was his guyde to forthren his viage,
And for tacomplysshe fully his massage.
After the fourme off his Instruccioun
He folwed theeffect off his auysoun.

He dide his massage openly declare,
To the presence whan he kam off Sweyn,
Fro poynt to poynt, list nat oo woord to spare.
Whom forto heere the tirant hath dysdeyn,
Bad hym deuoyde, nor mor ther to be seyn.
And departyng, thounh that it was late,
Toward nyht he wente out at the gate.

Destitut he was off herbergage,
Sauff ther-be-side a cherche-yerd he took ;
Mong graue stones, thounh he was old off age,
He leyde hym down, and nyh alnyht he wook,
And toward heuene ful ofte he caste his look,
Prayeng the lord to rewe on his symplesse
And toward morwe be grace his iourne dresse.

And, forto putte this mater in memorye,
Retournyng homward, the story berth witnessse,
At Lyncolne withynne the teritorye
With slombre oppressyd, trauayle and heuynesse,
For recreacioun, his labour to redresse :
Toward Aurora the martir, maide, and kyng
To hym appered, saide, as he lay slepyng :

‘ What newe trouble hath thy cheer disteynyd,
With heuynesse consumed and apeyred ?
Pluk up herte ! al that my peeple hath pleynynd
I shal redresse, or thow be hoom repeyred,

Off my socour be nat dysespeyred ;
Or ouht longe bet tydyng god shal sende,
By whos support al I shal amende.'

Egelwynus restortyng hoom ageyn,
At Gaynesborough the silue same nyht
In his castell to-for the tirant Sweyn
Blissid Edmund, armyd lik a knyht,
Conueied by an angel, as Phebus cleer off lyht,
Axed off Sweyn, a sharp spere in his hond :
'Wiltow, quod he, haue tribut off my lond !'

Off heuenly colour was his cote-armure,
The feeld azour, off gold with crownys thre.
In tokne he was, by record off scripture,
Kyng and martir, his legende who list se ;
The thrydde crowne tokne off virgynyte.
He with a spere, sharp and keene grounde,
Gaff the tirant his laste fatal wounde—

Geyn goddis wil may be no reffut.
Thus onto hym Edmund gan specefie :
'Haue thyn axyng, haue heer thy tribut,
Guerdoun couenable geyn fals tyrannye !'
Sweyn affraied loude gan to crye,
Yald up his gost, I not what weye he took.
But with the noyse al the castel wook.—

No-man merueile off this vnkouth myracle,
That Sweyn was slayn in his chaumbre a-nyht !
Geyn goddis power ther is noon obstacle,
In heuene, in erthe egal is his myht,
As weel in derknesse as in the cleer lyht ;
His victorye with spere, swerd or sheeld
In chaumbre shewed as weel as in the feeld.

To prudent peeple and folkis that be sad
Twen ffeeld and chaumbre is no difference ;
Lyggyng a-bedde his myht is to be drad,
For cowardise hath noon experience
Wher he list use his myhty violence,
In bed, in chaumbir, in castel, or in tour,
The swerd al oon off his dredful rygour.

Som ffolk, nat wis, to cowardise arette
That Sweyn was slayn in his bed a-nyht.
The castel cloos, the strong wal nat lette
But that his entre kam al off goddis myht ;
As thoruh a glas perce the bemys bryht
When Phebus shyneth, Sweyn in the same
wise

Slayn be myracle, and by no cowardise.—

And to procede as it komyth to mynde,
This Egelwyn herde in his passage
A gret rumour off horsmen behynde,
Which spak to hym in ful pleyn language :
'Art thou nat he that brouhtest the massage
From kyng Edmund, thenbassiat not treftable,
Dreedful, sodeyn, hasty and vengable ?'

As kyng Edmund saued fro tribut
This lond be myracle, sette the Rewm in pes,
Ryht so the Danys off counfort destitut
Durst afftir neuer put them-sylff in pres
To axe no truage nor gold to ther encres.
Wher god diffendeth, lat us neuer dreede,
Ageyn whos power no malys shal procede.

Off Sweynys deth thus writeth Marian :
How oon Wolmarus, born off gentil blood,

Dowmb, deff, podagre, and an *Essex* man ;
 The same hour so with hym it stood :
 Lay a-deyeng and his tyme abood ;
 Which neuer spak erst, sodenly abrayde,
 To his ffreendis euene thus he sayde :

‘The sharp spere off kyng Edmund, certeyn,
 To sette this lond fro tribut in surnesse,
 Ypershid hath the cruel herte off Sweyn.
 Wherby this lond is brouht in gret gladnesse.’
 These woordis sayd, the man in his siknesse
 Yald up the gost—neuer aftir nor afforn,
 And spak no mor, sithe tyme that he was
 born.

Thus Egelwynus be tooknys ful certeyn,
 As he homward gan his Journe hokde,
 Hauyng relacioun off the deth off Sweyn :
 Withynne hym-sylff his herte gan to bolde
 And euery part this myracle forth he tokde,
 Thanked god off his gracious refut
 Which hath this lond delyuered fro tribut.

Fro the cronycle yiff I shal nat varye,
 Kyng Sweyn was slayn, as maad is mencion,
 The day secounde off frosty Februarye
 A thowsand yeer fro the Incarnacioun
 Fourtene ouer by computacioun.
 The Danyz after, saltyng his careyn,
 In-to Denmark be sailled hoom ageyn.

And as myn Auctour in ordre doth denyse,
 Neuer tirant durste putten assay

Off seynt Edmund to breke the franchise,
 But he were punysshed withoute long delay.
 Hard is with seyntis forto make affray :
 Be exaample as I can weel preue
 By Leoffatan, which, whan he was shyrrue,

To seynt Edmund hadde no deuocioun,
 To heere off hym froward by dysdeyn,
 Off his myracles ful smal affeccioun,
 To heere hem rad the tyme spent in veyn ;
 His libertes, he was therageyn.
 To sitte in Jugement he caste a certeyn day
 Withynne the boundis wher the martir lay.

A woman gilty, sferful for hir trespace,
 For dreed off deth, socour forto fynde
 Off blyssyd Edmund entred is the place,
 Lowly beseechyng : he on hir wo tauue mynde.
 Leoffatan dide hir arreste and bynde
 By cachepoll with force and violence,
 Vnto the seynt doying no reuerence.

The clerkis present in deuyn seruyse
 Gan in maner to make resistance,
 Off hooly chirch diffendyng the ffranchise ;
 But al for nouht : ther was such assistance
 By pres off baylyues beyng in presence,
 With multitude the clerkis to assayle,
 That to sey nay it wolde nat auayle.

The offycerys, rauynous lik houndis,
 With Leoffatan, furious off chier,
 Off the cherche entred is the boundis.
 The clerkis prostrat lay in ther praier,

The woman crieth, that alle men myhten hier :
 'Help, blissid Edmund ! help and be my reed !
 For, but thow helpe, I shal in haste be ded.

Keep and conserue thy Jurediccioun
 Fro this tirant, or this day I shal deye.'
 The clerkis knelyng in ther orysoun :
 'Keep thy ffredam, o martir !' they gan preye.
 But Leoffstan lyst nat for to obeye,
 With al his court is entred, off entent
 In the cherche to sitte in Jugement.

No reuerence doon to the seyntuanye,
 The tirant was so vnmercyable :
 Be violence the woman forth they karye ;
 A quest redy, the Jurours Inportable.
 The woman crieth with voys ful lamentable :
 'Help, hooly martir ! shal I be this wise
 Dempt in the boundis this day off thy franchise !'

The Juge procedeth to execucioun,
 Thouhte no ffredam ageyn hym sholde auayle.
 A ffeend anoon took pocioun
 Off this tirant, sore dyde hym trauaile
 In euery membre and in his entraile ;
 Amyd his torment yald up his gost in hast—
 I dar nat deeme what way he is past.

Thus kan the martir punysshē hem that been
 rebel ;
 Folk that truste hym, counforte hem and releue,
 Socoure ther pleyntes, supporte ther quarel,
 As this myracle openly doth preue ;
 Who seketh his helpe, shal nat mescheue,

To his seruantis gracious and benygne.—
A tale for them, ageyn hym that maligne.

Knyhtes fyue off malice rauyne,
Ageyn the ffredam off Edmund ful coupable,
Haberyowned and in platis fyne
Entred his court, took hors out off his stable,
With swerdis drawe to shewe hem-sylff vengable,
Lyst any man wolde make resistance ;
Ladde forth the pray bextort violence.

But sodenly thus with hem it stood :
Or they passyd the boundis off the gate,
Trauayled with furye, and echon wex wood.
Repented after, offred up mayl and plate,
Confessyd, assoiled,—in cronycle set the date ;
Euer afftir off hool affeccoun
Hadde to the martir gret deuocioun.—

Eek oon off Flaundres, that was a fals brybour,
Kam vndyr colour off oblacioun,
Kyssed the shryne, lyk a slyh pilour,
And with his teth, the book makith mencoun,
Rauhte off a nowche, but, in conclusioun,
His teth stak styлле and on the nowche abood,
By myracle, wher as the pylour stood ;

He koude nat remewe fro the place,
But styлле abood, that alle men myhte se.
The Couent kam, prayyng the seynt off grace
Vpon that wrechche forto haue pite :
Loosnyd he was and wente at liberte

Thus kan the martir on rebellis be vengable ;
Whan they repente, benyngne and mercyable.—

Theuys eyhte, tentre the cherche at nyht,
Oon brouhte a laddere, a-nother brouhte a barre,
A-nother besy with al his strengthe and myht
To vnpyke lokys, a-nother to vnbarre,
Oon with a leuour to lefte the doore on harra,
Oon with a pykoys, a-nother hadde a spade,
Oon clamb the wyndowe his fardell forto lade ;

Oon at the grownsel lowe gan to myne,
A-nother besy to entre, yiff he myhte ;
Compassed afforn tave kome to the shryne,
To bern away the gold with stonys bryhte.
But to ther malis the martir hadde a syhte :
So sore be vertu he dyde the theuys bynde,
Tyl on the morwe the peeple dyde hem fynde :

Stood styll as ston, sore in them-sylff amasyd,
Somme with ther armys crompyd to the bak,
With eye up-tournyd aboute they haue gasyd,
Oon with his crampown, a-nother with his sak,
Another stood and on the wal he brak ;
Fro ther werk myhte no remews make,
Tyl on morwe they were at myscheff take,

Bounde and fetryd and throwen in prysown.
Tyl the Byssshop off the diocyse
Sat upon hem, dide execuciown,
By hasty rygour procedyng to Justise.
Hangyd they wern, shortly to deuyse—
Loo how the martir the robbours dyde quyte !—
Off this mater what sholde I more endite ?

The lawe he thouhte gaff to hym licence
 To execute hasty Jugement,
 Be-cause in cherche was do the gret offence,
 Conspired be theuys, alle eyhte off assent ;
 Nat seyn afforn this text bauysement :
 ' Cesse thow nat, thus thapostel bad,
 Them to delyuere that to the deth be lad.'

Off whos deth this bysshop Theodrede
 Hadde al his lyff hertly repentance,
 For this cruel and this hasty deede
 Made the peple faste and do penance ;
 He sore contrit, tryst off contenance,
 Hadde euer after for that gret offence
 Withynne hym-sylff remors off conscience.

Whan ffolk off pryde lyst haue no reward
 To hooly seyntis forto do reuerence,
 God punyssheth hem : record on seynt Edward
 Whilom at Bury beyng in presence
 Whan Osgothus off hatful necligence,
 A lord off Denmark, lyk a wood man ferde,
 The myracles off Edmund whan he herde.

Toward the martyr he bar old hatrede,
 This Osgothus, as it was after founde,
 Despysed his myracles whan he herde hem
 reede.

Yet he in ordre was callyd the secounde,
 Next to the kyng, with gold and perlys
 rounde

Rychely beseyn, and statly off array.
 Aboute the shryne walkyng al the day,

Off coryouste and presumpcioun
His look he caste toward that hooly kyng,
Off fals dysdeyn, voyd off deuocioun
Depraued his vertues, his passioun, his lyuyng.
And as he stood the martir thus skornyng,
With a brood fawchoun hangyng be his syde,
Fyl plat to grownde, mawgre al his pryde—

God is nat plesid with such fals blasffeme
Doon to his seyntys off Indignacioun,
Namly to martirs, which, the lord to queme,
Suffred for his sake deth and passioun ;
To pleye with seyntys kometh off ambicioun,
Which god wil punyssh with vnwar vengauce ;
For which this story is put in remembrance.—

This lord off Denmark for al his gret bost,
For al his tresour, his gold and his perre,
As a demonyak vexyd with a gost,
Ful offte turnynge in his infirmyte.
The noise aroos, oon seith ‘there lyth he,’
Tyl the rumour off cryyng heer and there
Kam be report to the kynges ere,

Which thilke tyme in Chapitle was present
Off his grace and Royall dignyte
With the abbot and hool al the couent,
Tencrese ther franchise and ther liberte :
Off his benygne and mercyful bounte
Gaff hem the maner off Mildenhale and the toun
With eihte hundredis in processoun.

Al this tyme Osgothus lay dystreyned
In his furye walwyng up and down

Whan hooly Edward knew how he was peyned,
Off Royal mercy he hath compassyoun ;
Heeryng the noyse and the horryble soun,
Dredful, terryble, off this wood man,
Thus he seyde to Abbot Leoffstan :

Fader Abbot, it longeth to you off ryht
With hooly praier and deuout orysoun
With al your couent to gon anoon ryht
To the holy martir in processioun,
The letany song with deuocioun,
Praying the corseynt off his benygnyte
On this Osgothus forto han pite.'

This myracle is the more auctorysed
That seynt Edward was ther-at present ;
Ouht off resoun to be mor solempnysed.
For the holy kyng was so diligent,
Off his grace to go with the couent
In processioun, ther knelyng on ther kne,
To saue Osgothus off his Infirmyte.

And by the counseyl off Ayllewyn, certeyn,
To the fertre the syke man was led.
And a gret space whan he hath ther leyn,
Wher he afforn was furyous and mad,
He gan abrayde and to wexe sad ;
Restoryd to helthe, lowly doun knelyng
Gaff thank to god and to the hooly kyng.

Tamende his manerys he gan eek blyue,
Sette a-syde his froward sturdynesse ;
To the martir duryng al his lyue
He was deuout, took to hym meeknesse.

What uayleth pryde ? what uayleth frowardnesse !—
 Exaample heeroff ye may seen at the lest
 Be vengeance take in Essex on the preest

Whych to the martir denyed herbergage
 Lad by Ayllewyn to Londene the Cite ;
 His place brent, for his froward language
 Vengeance take, men myhte the flawme se.
 But therageyn off grace and off pite
 At Crepilgate, entryng that royal toun,
 Dide many myracle; the book maketh mencion.

Tofforn at Stratfforde, callyd at the Bowe,
 His litil carre whan it sholde passe,
 The bregge broke, the deep strem vnknowe,
 Narwh was the plawnc: ther was no weye but grace:
 A-boff the flood o litel wheel gan glace,
 The tother wheel glod on the boord alofte,
 And Ayllewyn wente afforn ful soffte.

He kam to Londene toward eue late:
 At whos komyng blynde men kauhte syht.
 And whan he was entred Crepylgate,
 They that were lame be grace they goon upryht,
 Thoughtful peeple were maad glad and lyht;
 And ther a woman contrauct al hir lyue,
 Cryyng for helpe, was maad hool as blyue.—

Thre yeer the martir heeld ther resydence.
 Tyl Ayllewyn be reuelacioun
 Took off the Bysshope vpon a day licence
 To leede kyng Edmund ageyn to Bury toun.
 But by a maner simulacioun
 The bysshop granteth, and vnder that gan werche
 Hym to translate in-to Powlys cherche;

Vpon a day took with hym clerkis thre,
Entreth the cherche off seyn Gregory,
In purpos fully, yiff it wolde be,
To karye the martir fro thenys preuily.
But whan the bysshop was therto most
 besy

With the body to Poulis forto gon,
Yt stood as fyx as a gret hill off ston.

Multitude ther myhte noon auayle,
Al-be they dyde ther fforce and besy peyne ;
For but in ydel they spente ther traauyle.
The peple lefte, the bysshop gan dysdayne :
Draught off corde nor off no myhty cheyne
Halp lyte or nouht—this myracle is no fable—
For lik a mount it stood ylyche stable.

Wher-upon the bysshop gan mernuaylle,
Fully diffraudyd off his entencioun.
And whan ther power and fforce gan to
 faylle,

Ayllewyn kam neer with humble affeccoun,
Meekly knelyng sayde his orysoun :
The kyng requeryng lowly for Crystes sake
His owyn contre he sholde nat forsake.

Wyth this praier Ayllewyn aroos,
Gan ley to hand : fond no resistance,
Took the chest wher the kyng lay cloos,
Lefte hym up withoute violence.
The bysshop thanne with dreed and reuerence
Conueyed hym forth with processoun,
Tyl he was passid the subarbis off the toun.

Alle syke ffolk that for helpe souhte

To the martir, lyggyng in maladye,
Were maad hool; myracles euer he wrouhte:
Who callyd to hym fford hasty remedye.
Wher he passith upon ech partye,
Thoruh euery toun and euery smal village,
The peeple kam to conueye his passage;
 Broke breggis they gan ageyn renewe,
Strowed al the weies with floures fressh and grene,
And with clothes off many dyuers hewe
They heng ther wallis, maad the pament clene,
That noon obstacle was in the weye sene.
To Stapyllforde they took the weye ryht,
And, as I fynde, he logged ther al nyht,
 At the cheff maner off that litil toun,
Weel receyued with besy attendance.
And he that hadde the domynacioun
Off thilke village, lay in gret penance
Thoruh old syknesse: but off al greuance,
Wher he so longe afforn lay languysshynge,
Was maad al hool be myracle off this kyng;
 And whan he was be grace thus recuryd,
Ful deuoutly in al his beste wise
Made his auouh and hertly hath assuryd
That litil maner hooly to a-mortyse
With the reuenus, as lawe lyst deuoyse,
To the cherche, breffly to termyne,
Wher the martir lith hool now in his shryne.
 By Essex weye whan he was repeyred
To Bedrysworthe holdyng his weye ryht:
For long absence they that were dyspeyred,

At his komyng wer maad glad and lyht.
With ther offryng to hym goth euery wyht,
Deuoutly prayyng the martir nyht and day
With hem tabyde and neuer parte away.—

Baldewynus, a monk off seynt Denys,
Gretly expert in craft off medyceyne,
Ful prouydent off counsayl and ryht wys,
Sad off his port, fructuous off doctryne—
Aftter by grace and influence deuyne
Chose off Bury Abbot, as I reede,
The thrydde in ordre which dide ther succede ;

To seynt Edward he was phesecien,
To many siknesse he dide remedye :
In nyne and twenty wyntir, ye may seen,
A newe cherche he dyde edefye,
Ston brouht fro Kane out of Normaundye
By the se and set up on the stronde
At Ratlydene and caryed forth be londe.

By helpe and support off William conquerour
The cherche acomplysshed, with his fundacioun
Baldewyn dyde his deuout labour
Statly to ordeyne for the translacioun
Off blyssyd Edmund, yeer from his passioun
Ful two hundryd twenty and eek fyue,
As myn Auctour the dathe doth descryue.

Toward the ende almost off Apprylle
Certeyn prelatis fro the kyng sent down
This translacioun deuoutly to fulfyllen,
Off Bedrysworthe they entred ben the toun—
A thowsand yeer fro the Incarnacioun

Nynty ouer by accountis cleer

With addicioun fully off fyue yeer.

The feste kept with al the obseruances

By custom vsyd off antiquyte—

I lakke konnyng to telle al circumstances

Appertenying to that solempnyte.

The poopis bullys gaff hem auctoryte,

The kyng weel wylyd, ther was noon obstacle,

By cleer report off many fayr myracle.

These thynges reknyd ouhte ynowh suffyse

Vertuously this mater for to grounde.

And to procede, in most humble wyse,

With dreed and reuerence, off ryht as they wer bounde,

Out off a chapel, that callyd was rotounde,

They took the martir on ther shuldres squar

And to the shryne deuoutly they it bar,

Whych was afforn prouyded for the nonys,

With clothis off gold arrayed and perre

And with many ryche precyous stonys,

Longyng vn-to his roial dignyte.

Which off his grace and merciful bounte

To our requestis shal goodly condescende,

Geyn al our enmyes this lond for to dyffende.

(EPILOGUE.)

O Glorious martir, which off deuout humblesse

For Crystes sake were bounde to a tre,

With shot off arwes suffredyst gret duresse,

Thy blood doun raylyng, that routhe it was to se

With purpil colour ; streyned off cruelte
Was al thy body, Crystis feith tenhance :
O blyssyd kyng, off mercyful pite
Pray for thenherytour off Ingelond and France !

Settyst a-syde al thy royal noblesse
For Crystis sake, gemme off vyrgynyte,
Lefftyst thy kyndham, thy tresour, thy rychesse ;
So feruently brentyst in charyte,
That dreed off deth nor duplycyte
Myhte make the gruchch in thy mortal greuance :
Wherefore, O martir, off mercyful bounte
Pray for thenherytour off Ingelond and France !

Be thow our swerd, al foreyn foon toppresse,
Our sheeld, our pauys, castel off surete,
Our portecolys, boolewerk off stabylnesse,
Gate off dyffence : so kepyng the entre
That noon enemy may breke our liberte !
O gracyous martir, haue alway remembrance
To pray the lord in the celestyal se
For thenherytour off Ingelond and France !

Pray that the chirche may stonde in parfytnesse,
Pray for prynces, to keepe ther dygnyte
Vertuously, withoute doublynesse,
Pray for knythod, to lyue lyk ther degre,
Pray for the lawe, that noon extorsioun be,
And off marchauntis hold Justly the ballance,
Pray for the plowh, pray for the pouerte,
And for thenherytour off Ingelond and France !

Encresse prelatis in ther holynesse,
And folk Religious in ther humylite,

Vertuous wydwes in ther stedfastnesse,
 Wyues in ther trouthe, maydenhod in chastyte,
 Keep Innocentis from al aduersite,
 Pray for al nedy : god send hem suffisance !
 By a prerogatyff pray to the Trynyte
 For thenheritour off Ingelond and France !

Pray for artiffyceres in ther besynesse
 Trewe to perseuere, deuoyd off sotylte,
 For laboureres teschewen ydynesse,
 As they been ordeyned off god in ther degre !
 Saue trewe pilgrymes from al aduersite,
 And maryners from wyndy disturbance !
 Pray for pes and for tranquyllite !
 Pray for thenheritour off Ingelond and France !

Folk at debat reconcyle and redresse,
 Refourme dyscordys to pes and vnyte !
 Folk langwysshying and bedred for syknesse
 Sende hasty counfort to ther Infirmyte !
 Folk exylyd restore to ther contre,
 To presounnerys mercyful delyuerance !
 And, blyssyd Edmund, in long prosperyte
 Conserue thenherytour off Ingelond and France !

Encresse our kyng in knyghtly hih prowesse,
 With al his lordys off the spiritualte,
 Pray god to grante conquest and worthynesse
 By ryhtful tytle to al the temporalte,
 And to syxte Herry Joie and felycyte,
 Off his two Rewmys feith, loue, and obeissance,
 Longe to perseuere in his victorious se,
 As iust enheritour off Ingelond and France !

LENUOYE.

Go, litel book ! be ferfel, quaak for drede
For tappere in so hyh presence !
To alle folk that the shal seen or reede,
Submytte thy-sylff with humble reuerence,
To be refourmyd wher men fynde offence,
Meekly requeryng, voyde off presumpcioun,
Wher thow faylest, to do correccioun !

Saue blak and whyt thow hast noon othir weede,
Off Tullius Motles a dyrk apparence ;
The heuenly botler, callyd Ganymede,
The to refresshe lyst do no dilligence ;
Off Mercurye the aureat influence,
The tenlumyne dystylled skarsly doun :
For which be soget to al correccioun !

God grante that mercy may thy Journe spede,
With gracious support where men fynde offence :
Colour is noon thy brydyl for-to lede,
Off Rethoryk, to stonde in thy dyffence ;
Bareyn off language, nakyd off eloquence,
At Elycon welle thow drowh but smal foyssoun :
For which be soget to al correccioun !

Polypheme, allas ! took so gret heede,
That Argus lyst to haue noon aduertence
The to socoure in so gret a neede ;
The sugre off Omer was ffer off be absence ;
Dul and vnpulshed off fructuous sentence,
Withoute that fauour and supportacioun
Off goodly Rederys do correccioun !

Callyope lyst nat hyr bawme shede,
 The tenbelysshe with colours off cadence ;
 Thy Auctour gadred no flours in the mede
 Vnder Pernaso, to haue ther assistance ;
 Daunger off Muses gaff hym no licence
 For tapproche the hyl off Cytheroun ;
 For which be soget to al correccioun !

FINIS LIBRI

REGI

Souereyn lord, plesse to your goodly-heed
 And to your gracious Royal magnificence
 To take this tretys, which a-twen hope and dreed
 Presentyd ys to your hyh excellence !
 And for kyng Edmundis notable reuerence
 Beth to his chyrche dyffence and Champioun,
 Be-cause yt ys off your ffundacioun !

ENDE

MS. Ashmol. 46, fol. 87.

Laude of our lord vp to the hevene is reysed
 Above the sonne and bryght sterrys cleere,
 And in his seyntes our Lord Jhesu is preysed,
 As ofte is seyn by ther devout prayeere

And be signes which they werchyn heere
Thorugh Crystes myght, geyn which is noon obstacle
And to purpoos of this mateere
I wyl remembre an vnkouth ffayr myracle.

Which late ffyl the sylve same yeer
A thousand toold ffro the Natiuite
Off Cryst Jhesu by mevyng circuleer
Fourty and oon, at Londone the Cite ;
That our lord of merciful pite
The twenty day monyth of Novembre
Lyst to renewe of his benignite
A memoryal, as I can remembre,

With-inne the boundys of that towne
Maad his grace wit newe light to shyne,
To greet reiosshing of al this regioun,
Vpon a day, pleyndly to termyne,
Off hym that is kyng, martir, and virgine,
Blyssed Edmond : whoos merytes to aggregge,
Our lord Jhesu, by grace which is divyne,
Wrought a myracle at Tempse vpon the bregge,

His glorious martir ffor-to magneffye,
Day of his ffeeste, at ffoure afftirnoon—
Thyng doon in opyn may nat gladly lye.
On that bregge, bylt of lym and stoon,
Chyldre to pleye assemblyd were in oon ;
Among which sone of a fleccoheer,
Tendre of lymes so as he myght goon,
Was among hem, of age but thre yeer.

Which of custom ther playes did ordeyne,
Lyk ther conceyt, of verray Innocence.

Tyme of ther play to-gidre thre or tweyne
Kept ther dispoort, in whoom was no diffence.
A droof of oxes cam fforby ther presence
Passyng the bregge ; the chyldre wer so neer :
Oon of the beestys by sodeyn violence
Cauht in his hornys the chyld of the fleccheer,
 Left hym vp-on heyghte toward the Oryent,
Ovir the wal caste hym in-to the flood—
Sondry peple beeing ther present :
Off aventure somme on the bregge stood.
But Jhesu Cryst, moost benigne and good,
Which of mercy lyst for man to sterve,
For our sake spent his precious blood :
The seid chyld of mercy lyst preserve,
 As I toold erst nat fful thre yeer of age—
A monyth lasse, as I rehearse can,
Born thorough the bregge with the wawas rage.
Off compassyoun a pitous noyse gan,
The bittir teerys doun by ther cheekys ran
Off suyche as sauh westward them be-forn
Toward Cooldherberwe passyng “ the Swan ”
How, by myracle, the seid chyld was born.
 Grace of our lord, knet with good aventure,
Gaff to this chyld a special avauntage :
That so tendre a litel creature
Born with the streem felt no damage,
Nat astonyd of look nor visage.
Casuelly a botman fforby went,
Merveyllyng cam ner in his passage,
Into his vessel the litel child he hent,

Afftir an ebbe, whan the flood gan ryse ;—
As ye haue herd, Cryst Jhesu was his guyde,
As þe processe pleynty doth devyse.
Vpon the bregge in the same tyde
The childe's modir sat in hir hous besyde
And knewh no-thing what of hir chyld was falle.
Tyl a woman cowde no lengere byde,
Ran a greet paas : which did the modir calle,
 With wepyng and sobbyng of hir cheer
Sparyd nat but pleynty toold hir al.
The modir saide : the chyld in no maneer
No poweer hadde to reche vp to the wal ;
But whan she knewh of hir childe's fal
By a greet oxe cast in-to the flood :
As modrys weepe at feestys funeral,
Lyk a mad woman, ffurious and wood
 She ran hire out, lyst for no-thing spare,
As creature moost Infortunat,
Hir her to-torn, of kercheves maad al bare,
Crying allas, with sorwe & dool chekmaat,
Off sodeyn ffurye al disconsolat.
And so she ran by howsys to the place
Off Temple streete, took heede of noon estat :
Tyl she met a gentylman by grace,
 Which appertenyd, as it also is toold,
To a baroun dwellyng ther-be-ayde,
The lord Fanhoop, which heeld ther his houshold.
The seid servaunt of ffortune in that tyde
Vpon this woman sadly dyd abyde
Amyd the streete, lyst no fferther goo,

Tyl it stood soo that grace lyst provide
He knewh the cause and ground of al hir woo ;

Hadde of hir constreynt greet compassyoun,
Serchyng the cause of hire compleynyng.
'Allas, quod she, my child is throwe doun'—
Dysespeyred ffully of his ffyndyng ;

'But, gentyl sere, telle me now o thyng :
This day what ffeeste is in the kalendeer,
Which may me helpe and graunte my axing
Thorugh his merytes and devout prayeer ?'

'Woman, quod he, be off good counffort,
Truste hool in god afftyr my doctryne !
This day is halwyd—taak heede to my repoort—
In his worshepe that is a pure virgine,
The blyssed martir kyng Edmond in his shryne.'
And with that woord the woman fyl plat doun
On bothe hire knees, bowed hed and chyne,
With devout herte seide this orysoun :

'O lord, that hast of poore folk no despight
Nor of synfful, which calle the in ther nede ;
Blyssed Jhesu, that hast also delight
To fforthere alle thoo that love the and drede :
For Edmondys sake that did ffor the blede
Percyd with arwes ffyleed sharp and keen,
Jhesu, graunte my request ffor-to spede :
My litel chyld that I may oonys seen.

And whyl I lyve, I halwe shal the day
Off thy martir, kyng of Estyngelond,
With devout herte, as I best can or may,
In hoope I shal seen vpon the strond

My litel chyld brought quyk or ded to lond.
Down to the watir as she gan hyre hye,
Sauh hire sone which held vp his hond
Out of a boot and lowde gan to crye :

‘Wher is my moodir, myn owne moodir dere ?
‘Moodir, moodir !’ alwey the chyld gan crye.
Heryng that voys with sobre pitous chere,
Doun to Tempse faste she gan hire hye ;
Off hir sorwen a-dawen gan the skye
Vpon hire chyld whan she cast hire look,
Fond hym al hool, hurt in no partye,
Myd of a boot, and vp hire chyld she took,

Gaff thank to god with humble affeccioun
For this myracle knelyng on hire kne—
Doon at London, day of the passyoun
Off seint Edmond—and this a-vowh maad she :
Duryng hire lyff that solempnyte
To halwe and kepe in al hire best entent
The sayde ffeeste, hire husbonde ek parde
To doo the same also was of assent.

This myracle must oonly been ascryved
To god alloone, and to no mannys myght,
And that the chyld in savete was aryved
Cheef thank to god myt be yove of ryght
Which hath poweer to magneffye his knyght,
By this myracle, no-man may sey nay,
Which that befel, whoo-so looke aryght,
The kalendeer of kyng Edmondys day.

Name of our lord to exalte and reyse
 We ar comaundid be scription & wryting :
 In the sawteer, of herte and wyl to preyse,
 By hym that was choose prophete and kyng :
 First by prayer and devout knelyng—
 Last of his psalmys Dauid biddith soo—
 For myracles and merveyllous werkyng
 Calle to his seyntes in what we haue doo.

Thorough whoos suppoort gret wondrys þei ha wrought,
 Yove to our lord lawde of ther myracles ;
 For ther merytes he forgat hem nought,
 To ther requestys maade noon obstacles.
 Bryght as berylle, clerere than spectacles,
 Grace excellith euery precious stoon.
 To seyntes, shryned or set in tabernacles,
 God hath mervaylles wrought many moo than oon.

Palpable exaample in stoory men may se :
 Mawgre Pharao and al his greet myght
 Moyses passyd thorough the Rede see ;
 A bussh vnbrent with ffyr was maad bryght ;
 A saphir skye ladde Israel be day-light
 Toward the lond of promysseyoun,
 A ffyry pileer afforn hem brente a-nyght,
 Them to conveye by grace of god sent down.

For hem he wroughte myracles moo than oon :
 Bittir watir tournyd to swetnesse,
 Maade a riveer renne out of a stoon,
 To staunche the thrust geyn drought wyldirnesse ;
 Ful flourty yeer, the bible berith witnesse,
 Ther cloothys ffressh, nat brooke nor to-torn.

Which examplys yive ffeith and sekirnesse
For his seyntes what god hath wrought to-forn,

First in stooryes of antiquite,
Which shulde alwey remembryd been of ryght.
In myddil age the laste also parde
Whan the hooly goost to Marye doun alight ;
Ek whan a dowe with snowych ffetherys whight
Cam doun to Cryst in the ffloom Jordan ;
A gret myracle ageyn naturys ryght
Whan oold Elizabeth brought forth seyn John.

Cryst thorough the world sent his apostlys twelve
To preche his ffeith in euery regioun,
Gaff example, the blyssed lord hym-selve,
To hooly martirs to suffre passyoun.
And oon is shryned in Brutys Albyoun,
A glorious corseynt, martir, mayde, and kyng,
In whoos worshepe of trewe affeccioun
I wyl remembre two myracles by wryting.

God lyst his martir fforto magneffye :
Notable signes fful expert in certeyn :
Seint Edward present in his regalye
Osgothus slayn ffor his ffroward dysdeyn ;
Thynk on Leoffstan and fforget nat Sweyn ;
Be opyn myracle how our lord Jhesu
For his corseynt dayly be toknys pleyn
Hath in seint Edmond shewyd greet vertu,

By nowmbre toold of yoore agoon be date
Moo than I kan rehersyn in substaunce ;
In especial of two that ffyl but late,
Which I purpose to putte in remembraunce,

The laude of Jhesus with euery circumstaunce
Off this myracles to sette to his hond.
Off which two this was the varyaunce :
Oon vndir watir, the tothir on the lond.

Al the myracles in ordre forto sette,
Off oold and newe, doon by this glorious kyng :
Them to compyle thouh I be bounde of dette,
Off elloquence I haue but smal konnyng,
Rethoryques colours of endytyng
In my librerye is noon habundaunce ;
My wyl is good, though to so greet a thyng
I ffele my witt dullyd of ignoraunce.

But as the wydwe makyd hire offryng,
Wel was acceptyd, cheef of hire tresour
For she gaff al, the gospel witnessyng,
No-thing reservyd of gold ffor hire tresour :
And semblably, enteryng this labour,
To this martir of herte and hool entent,
Off sugryd cadence though I haue no flour,
Off this myracles I make my present.

Tyme of the yeer whan the sonne shene
I-entryd was in-to the boolys heede,
Alceste in mydwys grew fresshly in euery grene,
Spradde hire crowne with flours whyte & rede ;
Nyghtyngales of that sesoun took heed
With newe entvnys Aurora to salwe :
My penne I took, ffaste gan me speed
Thys myracles to sette in ordre dewe.

A thousand yeer by computacioun
Foure hundryd ovir with flourty addid too

The surplus foure by revolucioun,
Whan this myracles opynly wer doo ;
Day of Aprylle, I dar weel wryten soo,
Ful XXVIIIth accountyd by rekenyng
First remembryd of this myracles twoo,
Forn the Translacioun of this hooly kyng.—

The same tyme, as I reherse shal,
Oon aftirnoon, by feithful Just repoort,
A mayde-chyld nat ferre fro the Northgat,
Nat two yeer oold, creep for hire dispoort—
To gadre ffloours was hire most counffort—
Vpon a banke ageyn the sonne cleer :
Doun from an hyl of aventure or foort
The tendir mayde ffyl in the riveer—

The seid stream sevene ffeet was deep—
In the moode plounged breest and heed.
Hire yong sustir, allas, whan she took keep,
Off ffive yeer oold, cryed out ffor dred.
The strete a-roos, ffaste gan hem speed,
This sodeyn caas whan they did knowe.
They cam to late, for the chyld was deed—
Among the moode the fface lay so lowe.

Off the streete a certeyn neyhbour,
Nat ffer absent, of sodeyn aventure
Herd a noyse and this vnwar clamour :
To knowe the caas did hire besy cure.
The chyld lay gruff, myght nat recure.
This woman ran, gan calle, lyst nat rowne,
To the moodir—most woofful creature :
Off sodeyn sorwe almoost ffyl in a swowne.

Out of hir-sylff, astonyd in hir herte,
Ful ofte sithe gan to crye allas,
And specially whan she did adverte
How of hire child was drownyd hed & fface ;
With her vntressyd hastyd a greet paas—
Peple present abood vpon the stronde,—
Newe and newe cryed alwey allas
Tyl that hire chyld was brought ded to londe.

Hed and boody sounkyn wer to grounde :
Dysespeyred serchyng the riveer ;
With touch of feet the ded cors was ffounde
Bolne with watir : of lyff ther was noon chear ;
Cast to londe, the peple that stood near
In this caas sawh no remedye.

Tyl a woman, of strong herte and entieer,
Bold of corage, ffaste gan hire hye,
Took vp the chyld be the leggys tweyne,
Tavoide watir hed tournyd vp so down,
To this entent, the boody she gan streyne.
At nase and mouth ran out greet foyssoun
Lykour horryble, almoost a galoun.

Alle of assent as in ther desir
To seint Edmond made this orysoun,—
Tyme whan the chyld lay coold ageyn the ffyre,

No tokne of lyff seyn in look nor face,
Verray ded, coold, of chear and contenaunce,
By greet recoord hool an howrys space :
Tyl at the laste cam to remembraunce—
With wepyng eyen ffyl in dallyaunce
For pitous sobbyng and lamentable soun

To haue recure of ther dedly grevaunce
To blyssed Edmond, made Invocacioun.

Fadir and moodir ffirst knelyng on ther kne,
Al ther neyhbouris aboute hem envirooun,
Ful devoutly with al humylite
To the hooly corseynt seide this orysoun :
' O glorious martir, protectour and patroun,
Our request of mercy nat despyse :
Pray for thy tenauntys abydyng in this toun
And ffor this chyld born in thy ffraunchyse !

Alle of assent with reuerence we shal seke
Thyn hooly place, oold and yong of age,
With greet avys lowe our-selff and meke,
Contryt of herte, sobre of our visage,
With this avowh come on pylgrymage
A-ffor thy shrine to thy Royal presence :
Prostrat afor the with fleithfful hool corage,
To our prayere tyl thou yive audience.'

Greetly troubyld in ther oppynyoun
Took vp the chyld in the mortal distresse,
Which yit lay ded, and with processyoun
Toward the martir attoonys they hem dresse,
Affor the ffertre knelyng with meknesse,
Tyl that Jhesus ffor Edmondys sake
Beheld ther fleith, ther trust, ther stabylnesse :
Off whoos mercy to grace he hath hem take.

By his martirs meeke mediacioun
The lord above with-inne litel space
By his mercifful consolacioun
Made blood appeere in the chyldes fface ;

Sodeyn quyknesse hir herte did embrace—
Quyk lyk a soule moore than vegetatyff,
Al the membrys revived wer by grace :
So that it was restooryd ageyn to lyff.

Geyn goddys werkyng may be noon obstacle—
Resistence geyn his eternal myght
Causith seyntes with many greet myracle
To be worshepyd and gloryfied in his sight :
A greet example shewyd in his knyght,
Kyng and martir and a pure virgine,
Off Estyngelond enherytour be ryght,
Which Incorrupt restith in his shryne.

This Royal corseynt, glorious and notable,
To helpe his servauntys is nat wont to tarye,
And can also in tyme ben vengable
To them that been to his ffredam contrarye.
Which in the boundys of his seyntwarye,
This myracle was but late wrought—
Regestre it vp mid of your lybrarye
For a memoryal, and forget it nought !

For this myracle al the bellys rang,
Abbot William beeyng ther present,
And Te deum devoutly was ther song
To-ffor the awteer knelyng the covent.
The toun cam doun echoon of assent,
In purposos fful, for short conclusyoun,
The yong chyld, the tendir Innocent
Shulde afftir be born on processyoun,

Al opynly vpon the thrydde day,
Namyd off kyng Edmond the Tranalacioun.

Which tacomplysshe was maad no delay.
Som folk wepte ffor devocioun,
That took good heed in ther inspeccioun :
Which sauh the chyld of colour ffressh & reed,
The day afforn brought thoruh Bury toun
To-ffor seint Edmond of visage paale and deed.

Alle attoonys knelyng on ther knees
That wer present, of cuntre or the toun,
Estatys reknyd of hih or lowe degrees ;
That sauh the chyld born in processyoun,
With wepyng eyen of compassyoun,
Symple and lettryd ther heedys did enclyne
To seyn ther prayere and ther devocioun
Vndir these woordys, abydyng at the shryne :

‘Gemme of martirs of colour purpurat,
With hookyd arwes thy boody dyed reed
Yong of yeerys in royal estat
Ful thrytty wynter, ffor Cryst whan thou wer deed ;
A wolff fro beestys kept thyn hooly heed—
Thy legende makith mencion :

O blyssed martir, of mercy take good heed,
Save thy ffraunchyse, thynke on Bury toun !

Suffre no tyraunt thy ffredam to assaylle,
Noon oppressour ageyn hem to maligne,
Thynk on thy spere greetly did avaylle
Ageyn kyng Sweyn—a thyng notable & digne
To be regestryd and shewyd for a signe—
Whoos tyrannye was ful dere abought.’—
Anothir myracle with this to combyne,
I wyl remembre, which on the lond was wrought.

Which on the lond ffyl also but late
At which an hour, not ferre out of the toun,
In a subarbe callyd Rysbygate.
Wheer a yong babe lay tournyd vp so doun,
Nat ffyl two yeer age, as maad is mencion,
His syde vpward, ffolk can repoorte weel :
Which was that tyme to his confusyoun
Ovir-redyn with a carte-wheel.

The chyld oppressyd lay in the streete deed,
Blak al the boody, the eyen cloos of sight.
A neyhbour casuelly took heed,
Hent vp the chyld, bar it anoon right
Off compassyoun in al haste that she myght,
With wepyng eyen and fface ffyl pitous,
Namly whan she sauh the chyld so dyght,
Ded in hir armys brought to the ffadrys hous.

This sodeyn caas myght nat be kept cloos,
Thorough the streete the clamour gan to sprede.
Greet noumbre of ffolk attonys vp aroos.
Among which wysest ffolk took hede
And gaff counsayl at so streyght a nede,
With woofful cheer seide vnto oon and alle,
Off hih prudence thus oon gan hem rede :
First on ther kneen that they shulde falle

To make ther vowes, alle that wer present,
Withoute abood or ony long taryng
To bere this chyld al be oon assent
Bare on ther feet vnto ther blyssyd kyng,
Diversely to make ther offryng.
Compendiously this myracle to descryve,

Our lord Jhesu took heed to ther axing :
Off his mercy the chyld gan to revyve.

Space of an hour this litel chyld ded lay—
Tokne of lyff nor signe was noon seyn.
Off Jvle in soth vpon the VIII day
Soone vpon noone they gan prey ageyn,
To the hooly martir ther orysoun to seyn
Aboute the chyld vpon ech partye.
Whoos prayers were nat maad in veyn :
Cryst lyst his martir fforto magneffye,

In laude of hym did hym greet ffavour :
By whoos merytes and mediacioun
The child restooryd ageyn to his vigour.
The peple aroos with greet devocioun,
Cam to the shryne on processoun,
With Joye and wepyng medlyd euere among,
Te deum songe, with devout knelyng,
Ave Rex gentis was afftir that ther song.

The Priour last this myracle gan purpoose—
The peple abood with greet reuerence—
The trouthe toold, ther was no ffeyned gloose,
Lyk as it ffyl declaryd in sentence
Vnto alle that wer ther in presence,
Yive them this counsayl above al othir thyng
To sette ther trust with entieer dilligence
In blyssed Edmond, martir, mayd, and kyng,
‘ Which shewyd hath in this myracles two
Our lord above of his magnificence,
Off oold tyme and now of newe also,
To shewe to yow by notable evidence

How this martir of royal excellence
Prefferryd is in the heavenly consistorye
With glorious kynges to holde residence,
Crownyd with seyntes euer to regne in glorye. Amen.'

Now lat vs alle with hertly confidence
Requere this martir to graunte thynges thre :
With spere & arwe to stonde in our diffence
Geyn them that caste to breke his liberte,
To save his chirche, his toun, and his cuntre,
Mawgre alle thoo that in ony wyse
Wolde interupte his royal dignite
Be deregacioun doon to his ffraunchyse.

Explicit.

THE ROMANCE OF KING ATHELSTONE

MS. 175. APUD COLL: CANT. fol. 120.

LORD that is off mygtys most
 Ffadyr and sone and holy gost
 Bryng us out off synne ;
 And lene us grace so for to wyrke
 To loue both god and holy kyrke
 That may hevene wyne !
 Lystnes lordyngs that ben hende
 Off falsnesse hou it wil ende
 A man that ledes hym therin.

Off ffoure weddyd brethryn I wole you tel
 That wolden yn yngelond go dwel,
 That sybbe wer nouzt off kynde
 And alle four messangeres they were
 That wolden yn yngelond lettrys bere
 As it wes here kynde.
 By a fforest gan they mete
 Wer a cros stooode in a strete
 Be leff undyr a lynde.

And as the story telles me
 Ylke man was of dyvers cuntré,
 In book i-wreten we ffynde.
 Ffor loue of here metyng thar

They swoor hem weddyd brethryn for ever mar
In trewthe trewely dede hem bynde.
The eldeste off hem ylkon
He was hyzt Athelston
The kyngs cosyn der.
He was of the kyngs blood
Hys eemes sone i undyrstood,
Therefore he neyzyd hym ner.
And at the laste weel and fayr
The kyng hym dyyd wythouten ayr,
Thenne was ther non hys pere.
But Athelston hys eemes sone,
To make hym kyng woulde they nouzt schon
To corowne hym wyth gold so clere.

Now was he kyng semely to se
He sendes aftyr hys brethryn there ¹
And gaff hem her warysdom.
The eldest brothir he made eerle of Dovre
And thus the pore man gan covre
Lord off tour and toun.
That othyr brothir he made eerl of Stane,
Egelond was hys name
A man of gret renoun,
And gaff hym tyl hys weddyd wyff
Hys owne sustyr dame Odyff
With gret deuocoun.

The ferthe brothir was a clerk
Mekyl he cowde off goddys werk

¹ So MS., but the rhyme requires 'three.'

Hys name it was Alryke.
 Cauntyrbury was vacant
 And fel in to that kynges hand
 He gaff it hym that wyke
 And made hym bysschop of that stede
 That noble clerk on book cowde rede
 In the world was non hym lyche.
 Thus avaunsed he hys brothyr thorwz all gras
 And Athelston hym seluen was
 A good kyng and ryche.

And he that was eerl¹ off Stane
 Ser Egeland was his name
 Was trewe as ze schal her.
 Thorw the myzt off goddys gras
 He gat vpon the countas
 Twoo knave chydren dere.
 That on was ffyftene wyntyr old
 That other thryttene as men me told,
 In the world was non her pere
 Also whyt so lylve flour
 Red as rose off her colour
 As bryzt as blosme on brere.

Both the eerl and hys wyff
 The kyng hem louede as hys lyff
 And her sones twoo
 And often sythe he gan hem calle
 Both to boure and to halle
 To counsayl whenne they scholde goo.

¹ In MS. 'kyng' struck through.

Theratt sere Wymound hadde gret envye
That eerl off Dover, wythyrlye
 In herte he was ful woo
He thouzte al for here sake
Ffalse lesyngis on hem to make
 To don hem brenne and sloo.

And thanne ser Wymound hym bethouzte
Here loue thus endure may nouzte
 Thorwz wurd oure werk may sprynge.
He bad hys men maken hem zar
Vnto Londone wolde he fare
 To speke with the kyng
Whenne that he to Londone come
He mette with the kyng ful sone
 He sayde 'welcome my derelyng!'
The kyng hym fraynyd soone anon
Be what way he hadde i-gon
 Withouten ony dwellyng.

'Come thou ouzte be Cauntyrbery
There the clerkys syngen mery
 Bothe erly and late!
How fayryth that noble clerk
That mekyl can on Goddys werk
 Knowest thou ouzt hys state!
And come thou ouzt be the eerl off Stane
That wurthy lord in hys wane,
 Wente thou ouzt that gate!

How fares that noble knyzt
 And hys sones fayr and bryzt
 My sustyr ziff that thou wate ?'

'Ser' thanne he sayde 'withouten les
 Be Cauntyrbery my way i ches
 Ther spak i with that dere.
 Ryzt weel he gretes thee that noble clerk
 That mykyl can off goddys werk
 In the world is non hys pere ;
 And also be Stane my way i drowz
 With Egeland i spak i-nowz
 And with the countesse so clere¹
 They fare weel is nouzt to layne
 And bothe her sones.' The kyng was frayne
 And in hys herte made glad chere.

'Ser kyng' he sayde 'ziff it be thi wille
 To chaumbyr that thou woldest wenden tylle
 Counsayl for to here
 I schal the telle swete tydande
 Ther comen never non in this lande
 Off all this hundryd zere.'
 The kyngis herte than was ful woo
 With that traytour for to goo
 They wente bothe forth in ffere
 And whenne that they were the chaumbyr wythinne
 False lesyns he gan begynne
 On hys weddyd brothyr dere.

¹ Perhaps we should read 'dere.'

'Sere kyng' he sayde 'woo were me
Ded that I scholde see the

So moot I haue my lyff
Ffor by hym al thys world wan
Thou hast makyd me a man

And i-holpe me ffor to thryff;
Ffor in thy land sere is a fals traytour
He wol doo the mykyl dyshonour

And brynge the on lyve;
He wole deposen the slyly
Sodaynly than schalt thou dy
Be crystys woundys ffyve.'

Thenne sayde the kyng 'so moot thou the!
Knowe i that man and i hym see

His name thou me telle.'

'Nay' says that traytour 'that wole i nouzt
Ffor al the gold that evre was wrouzt

Be masse book and belle
But ziff thou me thy trowthe wil plyzt
That thou schalt nevere bewreye the knyzt
That the the tale schall telle.'

Thanne the kyng his hand up rauzte
That ffalse man his trowthe be-tauzte,
He was a deuyl off helle.

'Ser kynge' he sayde 'thou madyst me knizt
And now thou hast thy trowthe me plyzt

Oure counsayl for to layne
 Sertaynly it is non othir
 But Egelane thy weddyd brothir
 He wolde that thou wer slayne.
 He dos thy sustyr to undyrstande
 He wole be kyng off thy lande
 And thus he begynnnes here trayne
 He wole the poysoun ryzt slyly
 Sodaynly thanne schalt thou dy
 Be hym that suffryd payne.'

Thanne swoor the kyng be cros and rood
 'Mete ne drynk schal do me goode
 Tyl that he be dede
 Bothe he and hys wyff hys soones twoo
 Schole they nevere be no moo
 In Yngelond on that stede.'
 'Nay' says the traytour 'so moot i the
 Ded wole i nouzt my brothir se
 But do thy best rede.'
 No longere there then wolde he lende,
 He takes hys leve to Doverre gan wende,
 God geve hym schame and dede.

Now is that traytour hom i-went
 A messangere was afftyr sent
 To speke wyth the Kyng;
 I wene he bar his owne name
 He was hoten Athelstane
 He was foundelyng.

The lettrys wer i-maad fullyche thare
Vnto Stane for to ffare

Withouten ony dwellyng
To fette the eerl and his sones twoo
And the countasse alsoo
Dame Edyve that swete thyng ;

And in the lettre zit was it tolde
That the kyng the eerlys sones wolde
Make hem bothe knyzt
And therto his seel he sette ;
The messanger wolde nouzt lette
The way he rydes ful ryzt.
The messanger the noble man
Takes hys horse and forth he wan
And hyes a ful good spede,
The eerle in hys halle he fande,
He took hym the lettere in his hande
Anon he bad hym rede
'Sere' he sayde 'al so swythe
This lettre ouzte to make the blythe
Theretoo thou take good hede.

The kyng wole for the cuntas sake
Bothe thy sones knyztas make,
To London I rede the spede.
The kyng wole for the cuntas sake
Both thy sones knyztas make,

The blythere thou may be
Thy ffayr wyff wyth the thou bryng
And ther be ryzt no lettyng
That syzte that sche may see.'

Thenne sayde that eerl wyth herte mylde
'My wyff goth ryzt gret wyth chylde
And for-thynkes me
Sche may nowzt out off chaumbyr wyn
To speke with non ende of her kyn
Tyl sche delyveryd be.'

But in to chaumbyr they ganne wende
To rede the lettrys before that hende
And tydynges tolde here soone
Theene sayde the cuntasse 'so moot i the
I wil nowzt lette tyl i there be
To morwen or it be noone ;
To see hem knyzt my sones ffre
I wole nouzt lette tyl i there be
I schal no lengere dwelle,
Cryst for zelde my lord the kyng
That has grauntyd hem here dubbyng ;
Myn herte is gladdyd welle.'

The eerl hys men bad make hem zare
He and hys wyff fforth gunne they far
To London ffaste they wente
At Westemynster was the kyngys wone
Ther they mette wyth Athelstone
That afftyr hem hadde sente.

The good eerl soone was hent
And fetryd faste verayment
And hys sones twoo
Fful lowde the countasse gan to crye
And sayde 'goode brothyr mercy
Why wole ze us sloo
What have we azens zow done
That ze wole haue vs ded so soone
Me thynkith ze arn oure ffoo !'
The kyng as wood ferde in that stede
He garte hys sustyr to pryson lede
In herte he was ful woo.

Thenne a squyer was the countasses ffrende
To the qwene he gan wende
And tydyngis tolde her soone ;
Gerlondes off chyryes off sche caste
Into the halle sche come at the laste
Long or it were noone ;
'Sere kyng I am before the come
Wyth a chyld douztyr or a sone,
Graunte me my bone
My brothir and sustyr that I may borwe
Tyl the nexte day at morwe
Out off her paynys stronge,
That we mowe wete be comoun sente
In the playne playne¹ parlement.'

'Dame' he sayde 'goo fro me
Thy bone schal nowzt grauntyd be

¹ 'Playne' is repeated, perhaps by mistake, in the MS.

I do the to undyrstande ;
 Ffor be hym that weres the crowne of thorn
 They schole be drawen and hangyd to-morn
 Ziff I be kyng off lande.'
 And whenne the qwene these wordes herde
 As sche hadde be beten with zerde
 The teeres sche leet down falle
 Sertynly as I zow tell
 On her bare knees down sche felle
 And prayde zit for hem alle
 'A dame' he sayde 'verrayment
 Hast thou broke my comaundement
 Abyyd ful dere thou schalle' ;
 With hys ffoot he wolde nouzt wonde
 He slowz the chylde ryzt in her wombe
 Sche swownyd amonges hem alle

Ladyys and maydenys that there were
 The qwene to here chaumbyr bere
 And there was dool i-nowz
 Soone wythinne a lytyl spase
 A knave chylde iborn ther wase
 As bryzt as blosme on bowz
 He was bothe whyt and red
 Off that dynt was he ded,
 Hys owne fadyr hym slowz.
 Thus may a traytour baret rayse
 And make manye men ful euele at ayse
 Hym selff nowzht afftyr it lowz.

But zit tho qwene as ze schole here
 Sche callyd vpon a messangere
 Bad hym a lettre fonge,
 And bad hym wende to Cauntyrbery
 There the clerkys syngen mery
 Bothe masse and euensonge ;
 'This lettre thou the bysschop take
 And praye hym for goddys sake
 Come borowe hem out off here bande,
 He wole doo more for hym I wene
 Thanne for me thouz I be qwene
 I doo the to vndyrstande.

An eerldom in Spayne¹ I haue of land
 Al I sese in to thyn hand
 Trewely as I the hyzt
 An hundred besauntys off gold red
 Thou may save hem from the ded
 Ziff that thyn hors be wyzt.
 'Madame brouke weel thy more yeve²
 Also longe os thou may leve
 Therto haue I no ryzt
 But off thy gold and off thy ffee
 Cryst in hevene ffor zelde it the
 I wole be there to nyzt.

Madame thrytty myles off hard way
 I haue reden sith it was day,

¹ This probably means Sheppey. Thus in Gaimar (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 94, we read, l. 2359, 'Si praiarent tote Ecepaie'; other versions giving Ecepaïne, Espaine, Espaigne.

² i. e. keep your bridal gift (morgen-gifu).

Fful sore I gan me swynke,
 And for to ryde now ffyve and twenti theretoo
 An hard thyng it were to doo,
 Ffor sothe ryzt as me thynke
 Madame it is ner hand passyd prime
 And me behoves al for to dyne
 Bothe wyn and ale to drynke
 Whenne I haue dynyd thenne wole I fare
 God may covere hem off here care
 Or that I slepe a wynke.'

Whenne he hadde dynyd he wente his way
 Al so faste as that he may,
 He rod be Charynge cros
 And entryd into Ffiete Strete
 And seththyn thorwz London I zow hete
 Vpon a noble hors.
 The messanger that noble man
 On Londone brygge sone he wan
 Ffor his traveyle he hadde no los
 From Stone into Steppyng bourne
 For sothe his way wolde he nowzt tourne,
 Sparyd he nouzt for myre ne mos.

And thus hys way wendes he
 Ffro Osprynge to the Blee,
 Thenne myzt he see the toun
 Off Cauntyrbery that noble wyke
 Therin lay that bysschopryke
 That lord of gret renoun

And whenne they rungen undern belle
He rod in Londone I zow telle

He was nouer redy
And zit to cauntyrbery he wan
Longe or euensonge began
He rod mylys ffyfty.

The messenger no thyng abod
Into the palays forth he rod
There that the bysschop was inne
Ryzt welcome was the messenger
That was come ffrom the quewne so cleer
Was off so noble kynne
He took hym a lettre ful good speed
And sayde 'sere bysschop haue this and reed'
And bad hym come with hym
Or he the lettre hadde half i-redde
Ffor dool hym thouzte hys herte blede
The teeres ffyl ouyr hys chyn.

The bysschop bad saddle hys palfray
Also ffaste as thay may,
'Bydde my men make hem zare
And wendes before' the bysschop dede say
'To my manres in the way
Ffor no thyng that ze spare
And loke at ylke ffyve mylys ende
A ffresch hors that I ffynde
Schod and no thyng bore ;¹

¹ 'Bare' seems required.

Blythe schal I neuere be
Tyl I my weddyd brothyr see
To kevre hym outoff care.'

On nyne palfrays the bisschop sprong
Ar it was day from euensong
In romaunce as we rede
Certaynly as I zow telle
On Londone brygge ded down felle
The messangeres stede
'Allas' he sayde 'that I was born
Now is my good hors forlorn
Was good at ylke a need
Zisterday vpon the grounde
He was wurth an hundryd pounce
Ony kyng to lede.'

Thenne bespak the archebysschop
Oure gostly fadyr vndyr God
Vnto the messangere
'Lat be thy menyng¹ off thy stede
And thynk vpon our mykyl nede
The whylys that we ben here ;
Ffor ziff that I may my brothyr borwe
And bryngen hym out of mekyl sorwe
Thou may make glad chere
And thy warysoun I schal the geve
And God haue grauntyd the to leve
Unto an hundryd zere.'

¹ i.e. cease grieving.

The bysschop thenne nouzt ne bod
He took hys hors and forth he rod
 In to Westemynstyr so lyzt
The messanger on his ffoot alsoo
With the bysschop come no moo
 Nother squyre ne knyzt.
Upon the morwen the kyng aros
And takes the way to the kyrke he gos
 As man of mekyl myzt
With him wente bothe preest and clerk
That mykyl cowde off goddys werk
 To praye God for the ryzt.

Whenne that he to the kyrke come
To ffore the rode he knelyd anon
 And on hys knees he felle ;
'God that syt in trynyste
A bone that thou graunte me
 Lord as thou harewyd helle
Gyltles men ziff they be
That are in my presoun ffree
 Ffor cursyd there to zelle
Off the gylt and they be clene
Lene it moor on hem be sene
 That garte hem there to dwelle.'

And whenne he hadde maad hys pryer
He lokyd vp in to the qweer

The erchebysschop sawe he stande
 He was for wondryd off that caas
 And to hym he wente a pas
 And took hym be the hande ;
 ' Welcome ' he sayde ' thou erchebysschop
 Oure gostly fadyr vndyr God '
 He swoor be god levande,
 ' Weddyd brothyr weel moot thou spede
 For I had nevre so mekyl nede
 Sith I took cros on hande.'

' Goode weddyd brothyr now turne thy rede
 Doo not thyn owne blood to dede
 But ziff it wurthy were
 For hym that weres the corowne off thorn
 Let me borwe hem tyl to morn
 That we mowe enquire
 And weten alle be comoun asent
 In the playne parlement,
 Who is wurthy be schent¹
 And but ziff ze wole graunte my bone
 It schal vs rewe both or none
 Be God that alle thynges lent.'

Thanne the kyng wax wroth as wynde
 A wodere man myzte no man fynde
 Than he began to be

¹ So Hartshorne. But *Reliquiae Antiquae* gives 'schont.'

He swoor be othys sunne and mone
'They schole be drawn and hangyd or none'¹
 With eyen thou schalt see.
Lay down thy cros and thy staff
Thy mytyr and thy ryng that I the gaff
 Out of my lande thou flee.
Hyze the faste out off my syzt
Wher I the mete thy deth is dyzt
 Non othir then schal it be.'

Thenne be spak that erchebysschop
Oure gostly fadyr vndyr God
 Smertly to the kyng,
'Weel I wot that thou me gaff
Bothe the cros and the staff
 The mytyr and eke the ryng
My bysschoprycke thou reves me
And crystendom forbede I the.
 Preest schal ther non syngge
Neythyr maydyn chyld ne knave
Crystyndom schal ther non have
 To care I schal the brynge.

I schal gare crye thorwz ylke a toun
That krekysschole be broken down
 And stoken agayn with thorn;
And thou schalt lygge in an old dyke
As it were an heretyke,
 Allas that thou were born.

¹ i.e. ere noon.

Ziff thou be ded that I may see
 Asoyld scholt thou nevre bee,
 Thanne is thy soule in sorwe ;
 And I schal wende in uncouth lond
 And gete me stronge men of hond
 My brothir zit schal I borwe
 I schal brynge vpon thy lond
 Hungyr and thyrst ful strong
 Cold drouzthe and sorwe
 I schal nouzt leue on thy lond
 Wurth the gloues on thy hond
 To begge ne to borwe.'

The bysschop has his leve tan
 By that his men were comen ylkan
 They sayden 'sere haue good day.'
 He entryd into Flete strete
 With lordys of Ynglond gan he mete
 Vp on a nobyl aray
 On her knees they kneleden doun
 And prayden hym off his benyson,
 He nykkyd hem with nay ;
 Neyther off cros neyther off ryng
 Hadde they non kyns wetyng.
 And thanne a knyzt gan say.

A knyzt thanne spak wyth mylde voys
 'Sere where is thy ryng, wher is thy croys

Is it ffro the tan !'

Thanne he sayde 'zoure cursyd kyng
Hath me refft off al my thyng

And off al my worldly wan
And I haue entyrdytyd Yngelonde
Ther schal no preest synge masse with hond
Chyld schal be crystenyd non
But ziff he graunte me that knyzt
His wyff and chyldryn fayr and bryzt
He wolde wyth wrong hem slon.'

The knyzt sayde 'bysschop turne agayn
Off thy body we are ful fayn

Thy brothir zit schole we borwe
And but he graunte vs oure bone
Hys presoun schal be broken soone
Hymself to mekyl sorwe
We schole drawe doun both halle and boures
Bothe hys castelles and hys toures
They schole lygge lowe and holewe
Thouz he be kyng and were the corown
We scholen hym sette in a deepe dunjoun
Oure crystyndom we wole folewe.'

Thanne as they spoken off this thyng
Ther comen twoo knyzttes ffrom the kyng
And sayden 'bysschop abyde
And haue thy cros and thy ryng
And welcome whyl that thou wylt lyng
It is nouzt for to hyde

Here he grauntys the the knyzt
 Hys wyff and chyldren fayr and bryzt
 Agayn I rede thou ryde
 He prayes the pour charyte
 That he myzte asoyld be
 And yngelond long and wyde.'

Hereoff the bysschop was fful ffayn
 And turnys hys brydyl and wendes agayn
 Barouns gunne with hym ryde
 Vnto the brokene cros of ston
 Thedyr com the kyng ful soone anon
 And there he gan abyde
 Up on hys knees he knelyd a doun
 And prayde the bysschop off benysoun
 And he gaff hym that tyde
 With holy watyr and orysoun
 He asoyld the kyng that weryd the coroun
 And yngelond long and wyde.

Thenne sayde the kyng anon ryzt
 'Here I graunte the that knyzt
 And his sones ffree
 And my sustyr hende in halle
 Thou hast savyd here lyvys alle,
 Iblessyd moot thou bee.'
 Thenne sayde the bysschop al so soone
 'And I schal geven swylke a dome

With eyen that thou schalt see
Ziff thay be gylty of that dede
Sorrere the doome thay may drede
Than schewe here schame to me.'

Whanne the bysschop hadde sayd soo
A gret ffyr was maad ryzt thoo
In romānce as we rede
It was sett that men myzte knawe
Nyne plowz lengthe on rawe
As rede as ony glede.
Thanne sayde the kyng 'what may this mene?
'Sere off gylt and they be clene
This doom hem thar nouzt drede.'
Thanne sayde the good kyng Athelston
'An hard doome now is this on
God graunte vs alle weel to spede.'

They fetten forth sere Egelan
A trewere eerl was ther nan
Before the ffyr so bryzt
Ffrom hym they tokon the rede scarlet
Bothe hosyn and schoon that weren hym met
That fel al ffor a knyzt.
Nyne sythe the bysschop halewid the way
That his weddyd brothir scholde goo that day
To praye God for the ryzt.
He was vnblemyschyd ffoot and hand
That sawz the lordes off the land
And thankyd God off hys myzt.

They offeryd hym wyth mylde chere
 Vnto seynt Powlys heyze awtere
 That mekyl was off myzt;
 Down vpon hys knees he felle
 And thankyd God that harewede helle
 And hys modyr so bryzt.

And zit the bysschop tho gan say
 'Now schal the chyldryn gon the way
 That the fadyr zede.'
 Ffro hym they tooke the rede scarlette
 The hosen and schoon that weren hem mete
 And all her worldly wede
 The ffyr was bothe hydous and red
 The chyldren swownyd as they were ded
 The bysschop tyl hem zede
 With careful herte on hem gan look
 Be hys hand he hem vp took
 'Chyldryn haue ze no drede.'

Thanne the chyldryn stood and lowz
 'Sere the fyr is cold i nowz'
 Thorwzout he went a pase
 They weren vnblemesshyd foot and hand
 That sawz the lordys off the land
 And thankyd God of his grace.
 They offeryd thanne wyth mylde chere
 To seynt Poulys that hyze awtere

This myracle shewyd was there
And zit the bysschop eft gan say
'Now schal the countasse goo the way
There that the chyldryn were.'

They fetten forth the lady mylde
Sche was ful gret i-gon wyth chylde
In romaunce as we rede.
Before the fyr when that she come
To Jhu Cryst she prayde a bone
That leet his woundys blede.
'Now God lat nevre the kyngys foo
Quyck out off the ffyr goo';
Thoff hadde sche no drede.
Whenne sche hadde maad her pryer
Sche was brouzt before the feer
That brennyd bothe fayr and bryzt;
Sche wente ffro the lengthe into the thrydde
Stylle sche stood the ffyr amydde
And callyd it merye and bryzt.
Harde schowrys thenne tooke here stronge
Both in bak and eke in wombe
And sith then it fel at syzt.

Whenne that here paynys slakyd was
And sche hadde passyd that hydous pas
Here nose barst on bloode;
She was vnblemeschyd foot and hand
That sawz the lordys off the lande
And thankyd God on rode.

They comaundyng men here away to drawe
 As it was the landys lawe
 And ladyys thane tyl here zode,
 Sche knelyd down vpon the grounde
 And there was born seynt Edemound,
 Iblessyd be that floode !

And whanne this chyld iborn was
 It was brouzt in to the plas
 And was bothe hool and sound ;
 Both the kyng and bysschop ffree
 They crystnyd the chyld that men myzt see
 And callyd it Edemound ;
 'Half my land' he sayde 'I the geve
 Also longe as I may leve
 With markys and with ponde,
 And al aftyr my dede
 Yngelond to wysse and rede'
 Now iblessyd be that stounde.

Thenne sayde the bysschop to the kyng
 'Sere who made this grete lesyng
 And who wrouzte al this bale ?'
 Thanne sayde the kynge 'so moot I the
 That schalt thou nevere wete for me
 In burgh neyther in sale
 For I have sworn by seynt Anne
 That I schal nevere bewreye that manne

That me gan telle that tale
They arn savyd thorwz thy red
Not lat al this be ded
And kepe this counseyl hale.'

Thenne swoor the bysschop 'so moot I the
Now I have power and dignyte
Ffor to asoyle the as clene
As thou were houen off the ffount ston,
Trustly trowe thou ther vpon
And holde it for no wene
I swere bothe be book and belle
But zif thou me his name telle
The ryzt doome schal I deme ;
Thy self schalt goo the ryzte way
That thy brother wente to day
Thouz it the euele beseme.'

Thenne sayde the kynge 'so moot I the
Be schryfte off moutwe telle I it the
Therto I am vnblyve ;
Certaynly it is non othir
But Wymound oure weddyd brothir
He wole neuere thryve'
'Allas' sayde the bysschop than
'I wende he were the treweste man
That evere zit levyd on lyve
And he with this ateynt may bee
He schal be hongyd on trees three
And drawen with hors ffyve.'

And whanne that the bysschop the sothe bade
 That the traytour that lesyng made
 He callyd a messangere
 And hym to Dovre that he scholde founde
 Ffor to fette that Eerl Wymound
 That traytour has no pere.
 ‘Sere Egelane and hys sones be slawe
 Bothe i hangyd and to drawe,
 Doo as I the lere
 The countasse is in presoun done
 Sche schal nevere out off presoun come
 But ziff it be on bere.’

Now with the messenger was no badde
 He took his hors as the bysschop radde
 To Dovre tyl that he come ;
 The eerl in hys halle he ffand
 He took hym the lettre in his hand
 On hyz wolde he nouzt wone,
 ‘Sere Egelane and his sones be slawe
 Bothe i hangyd and to drawe ;
 Thou getyst that eerldome
 The countasse is in presoun done
 Schal sche nevre more out come
 Ne see neyther sunne ne mone.’

Thanne that eerl made hym glade
 And thankyd God that lesyng was made

‘It hath gete me this eerldome’;
He sayde ‘felawe ryzt weel thou bee
Have here besauntys good plente
Ffor thyn hedyr come.’
Thanne the messanger made his mon
‘Sere off zoure goode hors lende me on
Now graunte me my bone
Ffor zystyrday deyde my nobyl stede
On zoure arende as I zede
Be the way as I come.’

‘Myn hors be fatte and corn fed
And off thy lyff I am a dred’;
That eerl sayde to hym than,
‘Thanne ziff myn hors scholde the sloo
My lorde the kyng wolde be ful woo
To lese swylk a man.’
The messanger zit he brouzte a stede
On off the beste at ylke a nede
That evere on grounde dede gange
Sadelyd and brydelyd at the beste
The messanger was ful preste
Wytly on hym he sprange.
‘Sere’ he sayde ‘haue good day
Thou schalt come when thou may
I schal make the kynge at hande.’
Wyth sporys faste he strook the stede
To Grauysende he come good spede
Is ffourty myle to ffande.

There the messenger the traytour abood
 And seththyn bothe in same they rod
 To Westemynstyr wone
 In the palays there thay lyzt
 In to the halle they come ful ryzt
 And mette with Athelstone ;
 He wolde haue kyssyd hys lord swete ;
 He sayde ' traytour nouzt zit lete
 Be God and be seynt Ihon
 Ffor thy falsnesse and thy lesyng
 I slowz myn heyr scholde haue ben kyng
 When my lyf hadde ben gon.'

There he denyyd faste the kyng
 That he made nevere that lesyng
 Among hys peres alle.
 The bysschop has hym be the hand tan
 Fforth in same they are gan
 Into the wyde halle
 Myzte he nevere wyth craft ne gynne
 Gare hym schryven off hys synne
 Ffor nouzt that myzt befall.

Thenne sayde the goode kyng Athelston
 'Lat hym to the ffyr gon
 To prove the trewethe in dede'
 Whenne the kynge hadde sayd soo
 A gret ffyr was maad thoo,
 In romaunce as we rede ;

It was set that men myzten knawe
Nyne plowz lenge on rawe
 As rede as ony glede ;
Nyne sythis the bysschop halewes the way
That that traytour schole goo that day
 The wers hym gan to spede.
He went fro the lengthe into the thrydde
And there he fel the fyr amydde
 Hys eyen wolde hym nouzt lede.

Than the errlys chyldryn were war ful smerte
And wyztly to the traytour sterte
 And out off the fyr hym hade
And sworn bothe by book and belle
‘Or that thou deye thou shalt telle
 Why thou that lesynge made.’
‘Sertayn I can non othir rede
Now I wot I am but dede
 I tell zow no thyng gladde.
Sertayn ther was non othir wyte
He louyd hym to mekyl and me to lyte,
 Therffore envye I hadde.’

Whenne that traytour so hadde sayde
Ffyve goode hors to hym were tayde
 That alle myzton see with yze,
They drowen hym thorwz ylke a strete
And seththyn to the elmes I zow hete
 And hongyd hym ful hyze ;

Was ther nevere man so hardy
That durste ffelle hys ffalse body,
This hadde he ffor hys lye.
Now Ihesu that is heuene kyng
Leue nevere traytour haue betere endyng
But swych dome ffor to dye.

Explicit.

JO. BROMTON

(TWYSDEN).

Fertur insuper, secundum quosdam Historiographos quod Dani per Northfolchiam tendentes usque Thedfordiam pervenerunt, ubi primo ipsum sanctum Edmundum regem Estangliæ invenerunt, qui, ut legitur, congregato exercitu cum illis dimicavit.

Et sic, Estanglia Danis subjecta, Inguar ad fratrem suum Hubbe in Northumbriam reverso, super regnum Estangliæ quidam Dacus Godrim nomine post Edmundum primo regnavit. In revertendo autem, Abbathiam sanctarum monialium de Ely destruens, monachas Deo ibi servientes aut crudeliter peremit, aut inhumaniter aufugavit.

There is a further story, which I give on the authority of some historians, to the effect that the Danes marched through Norfolk as far as Thetford, the place in which they found Edmund, the king of East Anglia, in the first instance. Edmund, according to this legend, assembled an army and fought a battle with them.

And so, after the Danes had made themselves masters of East Anglia, Ingvar rejoined his brother Hubba in Northumbria. Then the realm of East Anglia was first governed by a Dane bearing the name of Guthram, in succession to Edmund. But on his return journey Ingvar destroyed the convent of nuns at Ely, and either cruelly killed or at least brutally drove away the holy women who were there serving God.

N.B.—Jo. Bromton alleges that after the death of S. Edmund, the crown of East Anglia was offered to, and refused by, his brother Edwold.

DE SANCTO EDMUNDO REGE ET MARTYRE

MS. BODL. TANNER, 15.

*From Arnold's 'Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey,' vol. iii. p. 348
(Rolls Series).*

'In 1499 Jacques Neelle, of Rouen, produced the magnificent volume in the Bodleian Library (Tanner, 15), which he had compiled at the cost and charge of Prior Goleston of Canterbury. He seems to have incorporated all Capgrave's biographies.'—ARNOLD, vol. iii. p. 21.

REX quidam in Saxonie regno, Alkmundus nomine, ex uxore sua Siwara prolem non habens, ab angelo admonetur in somnis ut Romam peregrinando proficisceretur. Quo cum pervenisset, matrona quædam sancta, spiritu prophetico plena, cum qua pernoctare solebat, cum vice quadam ad eum accessisset, globus igneus in quatuor partes se extendens ab ipsius regis pectore exire videbatur. Quo viso, regem a vero [sole] illuminandum, vel stirpem divinitus insignitam de suo sanguine processuram prædixit. Rediens autem rex prolem felicem genuit Edmundum. Illis enim diebus rex Estanglorum, Offa nomine, liberis carens, Jherusalem proficisci et hæredem a Christo petere disposuit. Et transiens in Saxoniam ad cognatum suum regem Alkmundum, honorifice suscipitur; duobusque regis Alkmundi filiis, Edmundo et Eduuoldo, sibi sedulo ministrantibus ætate junior

MS. BODL. TANNER, 15.

The first three paragraphs of the following narrative are chiefly taken from Galfridus de Fontibus, who, however, does not seem to have mentioned Alcmund by name, or to have designated Hunstanton as the spot where Edmund landed. The eight paragraphs following are from Abbo; and for the remainder, Hermann, Florence of Worcester, and Bromton, seem to have been the authorities primarily consulted.

A certain king in the realm of Saxony, by name Alkmund, having no offspring by his wife Siware, was admonished in a dream by an angel to proceed on a journey to Rome. After his arrival there, a holy matron, full of the spirit of prophecy, with whom he used to converse by night, on one occasion when she was visiting him, saw issuing from the breast of the king a globe of fire which spread its rays in four directions. At the sight of this vision she predicted that either the king was to receive illumination from the true Sun, or he would beget a scion of his blood that would receive marks of divine distinction. On his return home, the king begat in Edmund that blessed offspring. It should be mentioned that in those days the king of the East Angles, Offa by name, having no children, determined to make a journey to Jerusalem, and to entreat Christ for an heir. So, passing through Saxony to his relative, King Alkmund, he was honourably entertained. Two sons of King Alkmund, Edmund and Edwold, diligently waited upon him, but Edmund, the younger of the two, was the closer in attend-

Edmundus, specialius sibi inherens, propensiori cura quasi patri ministrabat.

Cujus obsequio et colloquio rex Offa delectatus, quendam annulum in recessu suo sibi porrigens, dixit, 'Edmunde, fili ' carissime, accipe nostræ mutæ dilectionis monimentum,¹ ut ' memineris me solerti tuo obsequio esse obnoxium; super quo ' gratias tibi refero, et mercedem paternam ex Dei providentia ' in corde tibi reservo.' Et juvenem amplexibus et oculis mulcens, annulum quendam ei tradens dixit, 'Intuere,' [ait] 'Edmunde carissime, cujusmodi sit annulus iste, ut si absens ' aliquid tibi intimavero, filiali obsequio adimplere ne differas.'

Cumque rex Offa ad brachium sancti Georgii pervenisset, morbo gravissimo detentus familiares juramento astringit, ut annulum Edmundo juveni præsentantes, cum in Angliam secum adducerent, et regem Orientalium Anglorum constituerent. Cum autem, collato juveni annulo, in borealem partem Estanglorum nomine Hunstantone applicuissent, sanctus Edmundus orationem fudit, et mox fons de terra erumpens multis infirmitatibus sanitatem ministravit.

Sanctus igitur Edmundus, Estanglorum rex, Antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia oriundus, a primo suæ ætatis tempore cultor veracissimus extitit fidei Christianæ. Qui ab atavis regibus editus, cum bonis polleret moribus, omnium comprovincialium unanimi favore non tantum eligitur ex generis successione quantum rapitur, ut eis præesset sceptrigera potestate. Erat namque omnibus affabilis et humilis, et in subjectis²

¹ *munimentum*. 'Nova Legenda Anglie.'

² *subjectos*. *Id.*

ance, and ministered to him with the affectionate care of a son for his father.

Offa was delighted with the boy's attention and conversation, and on his departure presented him with a ring, and said : ' Edmund, my dearest son, accept this as a token of our mutual fondness, and a memento of my obligations to you for your watchful attention ; I thank you very much for it, and shall cherish for you at heart, in accordance with God's providence, the requital due from a father.' Then he caressed the youth with embraces and kisses, and, handing him another ring, said : ' Look, dearest Edmund, look carefully at this ring, so that, if during my absence I shall send you any injunctions, you may not hesitate to execute them with filial obedience.'

Now, when Offa had arrived at the 'arm' of S. George, he was seized with a very severe illness, and bound his attendants by an oath to present the ring to the youth Edmund, to conduct him with them to England, and to make him king of the East Angles. They accordingly gave the ring to the youth ; and when they had landed at a place called Hunstanton, in the northern part of East Anglia, the saintly Edmund offered prayer, when forthwith a spring bursting from the ground afforded a cure for many ailments.

And so the saintly Edmund, king of the East Angles, sprung from the noble race of the ancient Saxons, was conspicuous from the first years of his life as a most sincere observer of the Christian faith. He was descended from kingly ancestors ; he was strong in the excellence of his character ; and therefore, by the unanimous favour of all the inhabitants of his province, was forced, rather than chosen, as in the line of succession, to wield the sceptre, and reign over them. He was, in fact, easy

benignus, gradiens via regia nec declinat¹ ad dexteram, extol-
lendo se de meritis, nec ad sinistram, succumbendo vitiis
humanæ fragilitatis. Erat namque egentibus dapsilis, pupillis
et viduis pater, spes ope destitutis ac refugium.

Contigit enim duos duces, Hinguar et Hubbam, de Daciæ
partibus cum magna navium multitudine Estangliam applicare.
Qui oppida villasque flamma voraci comburentes, nulli ætati,
ordini, aut sexui parcentes, quoscumque reperire poterant aut
gladio cædebant, aut captivos detinebant. Festinabant enim
passim neci cunctos tradere, ne stipatus militum agmine ad
defensionem suorum posset rex sibi resistere. Consuevit nam-
que Danorum et Almannorum² natio semper rapto vivere;
nunquam tamen indicta pugna palam contendit cum hoste nisi
præventa insidiis.³

Misit itaque Hynguar nuncios ad regem Edmundum, apud
Hegilsdon⁴ commorantem, qui et dixerunt, 'Terra marique
' metuendus dominus noster Hynguar, rex invictissimus, diver-
' sas terras sibi armis subjugando ad hujus provinciæ optatum.
' litus cum multis navibus hiematurus appulit, atque idcirco
' mandat ut relicto Christianorum dogmate cum eo antiquos
' thesauros et paternas divitias sub eo regnaturus dividas.
' Cujus si aspernaris potentiam innumeris legionibus fultam,
' vita indignus judicaberis et regno. Et quis es tu qui tantæ
' potentiæ insolenter audeas contradicere? Marinæ tempestatis

¹ *declinabat.* 'Nova Legenda Anglie.'

² *Alannorum. Id.*

³ *ablata spe ad portus navium remeandi. Id.*

⁴ *Hegilsdon. Id.*

of access and lowly towards all, and with this benevolence to his subjects trod the royal road, turning aside neither to the right by extolling his own merits, nor to the left by yielding to the vices of human frailty. He was liberal to the needy ; a father to the orphan and the widow ; the hope and refuge of the poor and destitute.

Now it happened that two captains, Hinguar and Hubba, started from the region of Denmark, and landed in East Anglia with a very numerous fleet. They burned down towns and villages with destructive flames ; they spared neither age nor rank nor sex ; but slew with the sword, or held in captivity, all whom they could find. They gloated in their task of universal slaughter as ensuring that the king should be unable, by concentrating his forces for the defence of his subjects, to resist the enemy. It will be remembered that it was the habit of the Danish or German tribes to live by plunder. They never tried conclusions with their opponents in pitched battle or fair fight, unless they had been forestalled by stratagem.

Hynguar then despatched messengers to King Edmund, who was sojourning at Hegilsdon. They thus addressed him : ‘ Our master Hynguar, the terror both of the earth and sea, and an unconquerable monarch, in the progress of his martial conquests in many lands, has landed with a numerous fleet on the desirable shores of this province, with the intention of wintering here, and calls upon you to abandon the Christian creed ; to share your ancient treasures and inherited wealth with him, and to reign as his dependant. But, if you disregard his power, which rests on uncounted legions, you will be deemed unworthy of life and reign. And, indeed, who are you that you should arrogantly oppose yourself to so power

‘procella nostris servit remigiis, nec ingens mugitus cæli nec
 ‘crebri ictus fulminum umquam nocuerunt favente gratia
 ‘elementorum. Esto itaque sub hoc imperatore maximo cui
 ‘famulantur elementa, pro sibi innata clementia quoniam novit
 ‘piissimus parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.’

Cumque episcopus quidam regi assistens ad consentiendum plurimis hortaretur exemplis respondit; ‘Ad id modo pervenimus, quod nunquam meriti¹ sumus. Utinam incolæ omnes regni mei me occumbente vivere possent. Honestum enim est mihi pro patria mori; hoc est autem quod desidero, hoc quod omnibus votis antepono. Ecce enim simulata benivolentia prætendit callidus suæ machinationis muscipulam, qua me irretire deliberat, maxime cum promittit quod nobis largitas divina concessit. Vitam indulget, qua necdum careo; regnum promittit quod habeo; opes conferre cupit, quibus non egeo.’ Et conversus ad nuncios ait, ‘Medefacti cruore meorum supplicio digni estis, sed plane Christi mei exemplum secutus nolo puras maculare manus, qui pro ejus nomine libenter paratus sum vestris telis occumbere. Hæc domino vestro perferatis, addentes quod pro amore vitæ temporalis Christianus rex Edmundus duci non subdetur pagano, nisi prius effectus fuerit Christianus.’

Hoc audito, jussu impiissimi Hynguar sanctus Edmundus inermis capitur, et vinculis acrioribus² artatus constringitur, ante ducem sistitur, et multis modis illuditur, et tandem, fusti-

¹ *veriti*. ‘Nova Legenda Anglie.’

² *acrioribus*. *Id.*

‘ful a prince! The storms and tempests of the deep are subservient to our armadas; and at no time has the dreadful thunder of heaven or the swift lightning stroke harmed us, thanks to the favour of the elements. Submit yourself, therefore, to this mighty captain, whom Nature obeys, recognising his innate clemency, since this favourite of heaven knows how to “spare the humble and abase the proud.”’

A bishop, who was in attendance on the king, urged Edmund with a multitude of arguments to comply, but the latter answered: ‘I have come to a trial which I never deserved. I would that my death could secure the lives of all the inhabitants of my kingdom. It is in truth a seemly thing for me to die for my country’s sake; I desire no other fate, I prefer it to all others. You see the pretence of goodwill with which my cunning enemy seeks to cloak his insidious design, and to entangle me. Why! he promises me what the bounty of heaven has already granted me. He offers me life, which I still have; a kingdom, which I already possess; wealth he would bestow upon me, of which I have no need.’ Then the king turned to the envoys, and said: ‘Soaked as you are in the blood of my subjects, you are worthy of condign punishment, but I say outright that I will follow the example of Christ my lord, and will not stain my clean hands. Nay! for his name’s sake I am willing and ready to perish by your weapons. Take this answer to your master; and add that for love of this life, Edmund, the Christian king, will not submit to a pagan commander, unless he first becomes a Christian.’ On hearing this the miscreant Hynguar ordered Saint Edmund to be seized, all unarmed as he was; the king was tightly bound with sharp thongs, and made to stand before

gatus, et ad quandam arborem ligatus, flagris durissimis diutissime verberatur, nec vincitur, semper Christum vocibus flebilibus invocando. Adversarii igitur, in furorem versi, quasi ludendo ad signum eum toto corpore sagittarum telis confodiunt, et vulnera vulneribus imprimebant, dum jacula jaculis locum dabant. Sicque spiculorum aculeis circumfossus palpitans velut hericius, aut spinis hirtus carduus, similis [Sebastiano] factus est. Cumque nec sic Hynguar eum sibi assentire conspiceret, sed jugiter Christum inclamantem videret, lictori protinus mandat ut amputet caput ejus. Sicque duodecimo kalendas Septembris (*sic* in MS.) capite truncatus, cum palma martyrii rex et martyr migravit ad Dominum. Caput autem sancti regis Dani secum auferentes, [et] in silva de Helgelsdon¹ inter densa veprium frutecta projecerunt.

Reddita tandem terræ aliquanta pace cœperunt Christiani de latibulis consurgere, et caput in silva diligenter inquirere. Cumque in silva densissima caput sanctissimum lustrando pergerent, et alternatim, ut moris est, inter se clamarent, Ubi es? ecce, mirabile auditu, caput martyris patria lingua respondebat dicens, Heer, Heer, Heer; quod est interpretatum, Hic, Hic, Hic. Nec umquam eadem repetendo clamare destituit, quousque omnes ad se perduxit. Palpitabat mortuæ linguæ plectrum infra meatus faucium, manifestans illius magnalia, qui rudenti

¹ *Heglesdon, Id.*

the heathen leader. Then he was made the victim of many outrages, beaten with sticks, and at length bound to a tree, and for a long time lashed most severely with scourges. But he continued with tearful accents to call upon Christ, and was not overcome. This exasperated his foes to madness ; as if shooting at a target for amusement they riddled his whole body with the points of their arrows, inflicting wound upon wound, and flinging dart after dart. And so, pierced through and through with the sharp tips of their javelins, as he stood convulsed with agony, till he resembled a hedgehog or a thistle covered with spines he became like another Sebastian. But still, as Hynguar saw, nothing could make him yield, and he never ceased to invoke the name of Christ. The tyrant therefore bade the executioner to cut off the king's head without further delay. It was on the 20th August (20th November) that the king and martyr was beheaded, and so passed with the crown of martyrdom to the Lord. The head of the holy king was carried off by the Danes, and flung by them into the dense and tangled thickets of the forest of Helgelsdon.

When peace had been in some degree restored to the country, the Christians began to emerge from their hiding-places, and to make diligent search for the head in the forest. They explored the thickest parts of the wood in their quest of the holy relic, and as they called out one to another, as is usual, 'Where are you?' lo! wonderful to relate, the head of the martyr replied in the language of the country, 'Here! here! here!' (the Latin equivalent being 'Hic! hic! hic!') and continued without intermission to repeat the words, until it attracted to itself the whole of the searchers. The string of the dead man's tongue vibrated in the passages of his throat, an exhibition of the marvellous

asellæ humana compegit verba. Immanis enim lupus caput inter brachia complexus procumbebat, excubias martyri impendens. Accipientes itaque illud et corpori coaptantes honorifice sepelierunt. Cum autem postea corpus ejus transferri deberet, inviolatum repertum est et incorruptum, ac caput corpori redintegratum, nichilque omnino vulneris, nichil apparuit cicatricis. Tantum enim in ejus collo ob signum rubet una tenuissima ruga in modum fili coccinei, sicut testari erat solita quædam devota femina, Oswenna vocata, quæ in eodem loco jejuniis et orationibus vacans multos transegerat annos. Cui divina revelatione aut nimia devotione mos inolevit, ut patefacto beati martyris sepulcro, singulis annis in Dominica cæna attendendo præscindere¹ capillos solebat et ungues. Quæ omnia diligenter colligens quamdiu vixit mira devotione excolere non neglexit, positaque super altare ejusdem ecclesiæ post ejus mortem debita adhuc reservantur devotione et veneratione.

Cum autem octo latrones ecclesiam sancti martyris infringere, et quæcumque asportare possent capere decrevissent, et cum diversis instrumentis hoc attemptassent, martyr Dei ita eos ligavit divinitus, ut nec pedem movere nec arreptum officium deserere possent. Mane autem inventi et vincti episcopo Theodredo sunt præsentati. Qui impræmeditatus sententiam dedit et eos patibulis affligi jussit. Quamobrem postea in se reversus graviter indoluit, et sibi pœnitentiam indicens, [quam]

¹ *precidere*. 'Nova Legenda Anglie.'

powers of Him who endowed even the braying ass with human speech. A further wonder was that an enormous wolf embraced the head with its paws as it lay stretched out on the ground, acting as sentinel to the martyr. The head thus recovered was joined to the body and buried with due honour. At a later time, when the corpse was about to be translated, it was found to be uninjured and undecayed. The head was consolidated with the trunk, and there was absolutely no appearance of any wound or scar. Only round the martyr's neck there was, as emblem of his fate, an extremely fine red wrinkle, like a crimson thread, as was often averred by a devout woman named Oswen, who had lived for many years on the spot, engrossed in prayers and fastings. It was her custom, due either to divine inspiration or to her exceeding devotion, to open the sepulchre of the blessed martyr every year at the festival of the Lord's Supper, and then to trim his hair and his nails. The relics she industriously collected, and failed not to venerate with wonderful devotion as long as she lived; and, after her death, they were placed upon the altar of the memorial church, where to this day they are preserved with befitting devotion and reverence.

Upon one occasion eight thieves conspired to break into the church of the holy martyr, and to steal whatever valuables they could carry away. They were engaged with various tools upon this attempt, when God's martyr, by an exercise of divine power, so enchained them, that they could neither lift their feet nor quit the task which they had commenced. When day dawned, they were discovered, and brought in fetters before Bishop Theodred, who in a moment of forgetfulness pronounced judgment against them, and sentenced them to be hanged. For this, on subsequent reflection, he was very sorry, and, inflicting

diutius se gravibus lamentis dedit. Item tandem episcopus corpus martyris ad locum devotiorem transtulit, et incorruptum repperit, tetigit, lavavit, et optimis vestibus indutum ligneo locello reposuit.

Quidam juvenis filius nobilis cujusdam, potentiæ suæ auctoritate ductus, integritatem martyris omnino videre affectavit. Reseratoque locello astitit, aspexit, et in eodem momento in amentiam versum in reprobum sensum Deus illum tradidit, et ob scelus ejus a patre dejectus, et ad summam inopiam perductus, vitam finivit vermibus consumptus.

Rex quidam Danorum, nomine Swanus, cum magna multitudine navium Angliam intrans, nulli parcens ætati, sexui, vel ordini, cæde et incendio cuncta vastabat, et ubique predas agens ab incolis totius terræ tributa exigebat, et ad propriæ damnationis cumulum ex urbe sancti Edmundi martyris grande tributum petiit. Alioquin, nisi solveretur, urbi incendium, civibusque exilium¹ comminatur. Insuper et sancto Edmundo probrose detraxit. Audientes hoc cives, et vehementer expavescentes, ante sepulcrum sancti Edmundi se prosternunt cum multis lacrymis et singultibus; devotis precibus opem martyris implorabant. Erat enim in eodem loco monachus quidam nomine Egelwinus, sancto martyri adeo devotus ut ejus secretalis cubicularius merito ab omnibus vocaretur.

Hic, quando sibi opportunum videbat, solus ad martyrem ingrediens, corpus ejus diligenter abluebat, capillos capitis

¹ *Exilium*. 'Nova Legenda Anglie.'

penance upon himself, long continued to show regret and contrition. Finally the bishop translated the body of the martyr to a place more suitable for devotion. He found it incorrupt; he touched and washed it, and laid it to rest arrayed in rich vestments in a wooden coffin.

There was a young man, son to a nobleman, who, misled by his position of authority, insisted upon testing with his own eyes the incorruption of the martyr. The coffin was opened; the young man stood by and looked in. The same moment he went mad, and was given over by God to a reprobate mind. Disowned by his father for his wicked act, he was reduced to extreme poverty, and ended his life a prey to worms.

There was a king of Denmark called Sweyn, who invaded England with an immense fleet, and devastated the whole country with fire and slaughter without regard for age, sex, or rank. Pillaging wherever he went, he extorted tribute from the inhabitants in every part of the land; he even, to fill up the cup of his damnation, demanded a huge sum from the city of Saint Edmund the martyr. If this were not paid he threatened to set the city on fire and exterminate the citizens. And further than this he spoke with opprobrium and contumely of Saint Edmund himself. On hearing this the citizens, who were overwhelmed with terror, prostrated themselves weeping and sobbing in front of the tomb of Saint Edmund, and besought his aid with devout supplications. Now there was in that place a monk named Ailwin, whose devotion to the holy martyr was so marked that he was commonly and deservedly known as the saint's private chamberlain.

Ailwin was accustomed, from time to time as he thought suitable, to enter alone into the presence of the martyr, and

reverenter demulcendo planos pectine reddebat, pilosque pectinis violentia extractos in pixide ponens, quasi viventi in carne debitum servitium impendebat, mutuis allocutionibus ore ad os, quasi amicus amico. Non solum utile responsum sanctus dare non distulit, sed etiam variarum oppressionum, quas sibi referebat, viam levaminis et salubris consilii notificavit. Huic sub noctis silentio sopori dedito sanctus Edmundus vultu mœrore confecto astitit, dicens: 'Perge,' inquit, 'ad regem Danorum Swanum, et ex parte mea nichil dubitans præcipe, ut a meorum infestatione et tributi exactione civium desistat, si divinam imminuentem effugere cupiat ultionem.' Cum autem monachus hæc regi nunciasset, more leonis frendens, nisi citius fugeret mortem jurejurando minabatur. Imminente autem vespera, in medio commilitonum suorum, apud villam de Geynesburgh Swanus pugione sancti Edmundi confossus est. Sicque vociferans noctis crepusculo mortuus est, tertio nonas Februarii. Canntus vero filius Swani hoc videns, mitius deinceps cum sancto Edmundo egit, fossatum terræ Sancti Edmundi circumduxit, immunitatem ab omni præstatione terræ tribuit, basilicam super corpus construxit, monachos instituit, et prædia multa donavit.

carefully to wash his body, and with reverence to smooth and comb the hairs of his head, storing in a box those which the movement of the comb dislodged. In fact he waited upon the saint obsequiously as upon one yet alive and in the flesh, and conversed with him face to face as a friend with his friend. And now the saint deferred not the giving a practical response ; moreover, he intimated a way of redress, and wholesome expedients as regards the various forms of oppression of which complaint was made to him. At the dead of night, as Ailwin was overcome by sleep, Edmund appeared to him with a countenance worn and wan through sorrow, and said, 'Go' (these were his words) 'to Sweyn, the king of Denmark, and on my behalf enjoin him without hesitation to desist from troubling and despoiling my citizens, if he desires to escape from the imminent vengeance of heaven.' The monk accordingly bore the message to Sweyn ; but that king, raving like a lion, bade him with an oath to be gone at once on peril of his life. But as evening drew near, in the midst of his soldiery at the town of Gainsborough, Sweyn was stabbed by the poniard of Saint Edmund. With a piercing shriek the tyrant passed away in the twilight of the second of February. His son Canute, who witnessed his fate, treated Saint Edmund in after times with more civility. It was he who surrounded the estate of Saint Edmund with a dyke, and conferred upon it exemption from all levy of tribute. He also reared a basilica over the martyr's body, founded an establishment of monks, and endowed it with ample possessions.

INGULPHUS

(GALE's *Scriptores*, vol. i., 1684).

INGULPHUS

(GALE).

Vol. i. p. 11. Withlafius . Wymundum filium suum, longa dysenteria defunctum, ad latus virginis dextrum tumulavit.

Vol. i. p. 24. Et transeuntes in Estangliam strenuissimum comitem Wlketulum occurrentem contra eos cum exercitu et fortissime resistentem, tandem cum suis omnibus occiderunt. Regem etiam ejusdem provinciæ sanctissimum Edmundum . . . martyrisaverunt.

INGULF

Wiglaf laid to rest, to the right of the virgin (Etheldrith or Althrith), the body of his son Wigmund, who had died of a lingering dysentery.

The Danes then passed into East Anglia (viz. after the destruction of Ely). They were confronted by the energetic Earl Ulfketel with an army, but after a stout resistance he and the whole of his force were at length put to the sword. The Danes, in addition to this, martyred the saintly Edmund, king of that country.

CHRONICA JOANNIS WALLINGFORD. (GALE)

DE ADVENTU YNGUAR ET UBBE.

ANNO . . . ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCLXIX. intravit Inguar Estanglam, quæ Euro-Aquiloni exposita, multos habet aptos navigiis portus, et sicut ab exercitu peditum pro muro habens oceanum est tuta, sic a periculis ab oceano navigio erumpentibus est incerta et improvisa.

DE SANCTO EADMUNDO REGE ET MARTYRE EXCERPTUM.

Regnabat autem tunc temporis pius Rex Deoque devotus ibidem Eadmundus, qui et ipse ex nobili Saxonum genere stemma ducens, omnem nobilitatem generis et morum elegantia et fidei religione superavit. Solent quidam ad hunc Sanctum regem retorquere satis accommode (? incommode) [quoad] tempora, et quod narratum est superius de Sancto Botulfo, sicut hic invenio Eadmundum, ita in patris Egberti nomine Alcmundum, et in Legenda Sanctum (? Sanctorum) Ethelmundum, potestque facere de nomine dissonantia.

DE ALCMUNDO.

Fuit enim contemporaneus his duobus regibus [Offa scilicet et Kenulfo] Alcmundus pater Egberti. . . .

JOHN OF WALLINGFORD

OF THE INVASION OF HINGUAR AND HUBBA.

IN the year of our Lord 869, Hinguar entered East Anglia, which, lying exposed to the north-east, has many harbours convenient for shipping, and, in proportion to the security which it enjoys owing to its ocean-rampart from invasion by land, is rendered unsafe and unprotected against the peril of naval incursions.

EXTRACT RELATING TO SAINT EADMUND, THE KING AND MARTYR.

At this period Edmund, a pious and devoted servant of God, ruled as king in that country. He traced his descent from the noble Saxon stock, but his exemplary character and devoted piety eclipsed the nobility of his descent. There are writers who are accustomed to wrest into relation with this saintly king, without regard to chronology, circumstances described as applicable to Saint Botolph, for I find Edmund's name misapplied here, just as the legend of Saint Ethelmund is confused with the story of Egbert's father Alcmund (?). The similarity of the names leads to the discrepancy.

CONCERNING ALCMUND.

Alcmund (Ealhmund), the father of Egbert, was contemporary with the two kings Offa and Cenulf.

Relictusque fuit in manibus matris, cum esset ineptus ad regni gubernaculum, ob teneritatem pueritiæ.

Habebat autem et ipse Eathelmundus duas sorores, quas pater Eafi transfretari fecerat in Saxoniam . . . ob mores gentis Saxonum erudiendos.

Erantque duo fratres in eodem scemate religionis Eadulfus et Botulfus, . . . eadem qua puellæ transmissæ fuerant causa transfretaverunt. . . Successit interea patri suo Alcmundo sive Ethelmundo Egbertus.

He was left in his mother's charge, as being unripe through the tenderness of his age for the government of a kingdom.

Eathelmund had himself two sisters, who were sent abroad to Saxony by their father Eafi to learn the ways of the Saxon race.

There were also two brothers in the same religious place of education, viz. Eadulf and Botolph, who went abroad for the same reason that the girls had been despatched thither. . . . In the meantime Egbert succeeded his father Alemond (Ealh-mund) or Ethelmund.

PART II.
CHARTERS, Etc.

PART II.—(I.)

CHARTERS SAID TO HAVE BEEN WITNESSED BY
S. EDMUND

(I.) CARTA ÆTHELWULFI REGIS. Nov. 5, 855.

Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 112.

✠ Regnante Domino nostro in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia et direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon et vastantium crudelissimas hostium deprædationes barbarorum, paganarumque nationum multiplices tribulationes, ad affligendum nos pro peccatis nostris usque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem Ego Ethelwulphus rex Westsaxonum, cum consilio episcoporum ac principum meorum, consilium salubre atque uniforme remedium affirmantes, consensimus ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei Deo servientibus, sive laicis miseris, semper decimam mansionem, ubi minimam (?minimum) sit, tum decimam partem omnium bonorum, in libertatem perpetuam donari sancta ecclesiæ dijudicavi, ut sit tuta et munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, imo regalibus tributis, majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus quæ nos dicimus Winterden (?Witereden); sitque libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum et peccatorum nostrorum, ad serviendum Deo soli, sine expeditione, et pontis extructione, et arcis munitione; ut

CHARTER OF KING ETHELWOLF. Nov. 5, 855.

Translation.

Reigneth our Lord God for ever ! Whereas in our time, by the conflagration of war, and the dispersal of our treasures, as well as by the cruel depredations of barbarous and devastating enemies, and the manifold troubles brought upon us by heathen peoples, we have been afflicted for our sins even to utter destruction, and we perceive that the times to come are big with perils ; for this cause I, Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, with the advice of my bishops and nobles, in pursuance of wholesome counsels, and of an uniform remedy, have consented and ordained that some portion of land held as of inheritance by the hitherto subsisting proprietors of all degrees, should, for the benefit of male or female members of God's household, engaged in God's service, or of indigent lay-folk, to wit,¹ in all cases at least the tenth hide, and also the tenth part of all moveable goods be granted in perpetual free alms to Holy Church, to be safe and secure from all worldly obligations, even from tribute to the crown, great or small, and from the taxation which we call 'Witereden.' And be such property free in all respects, for the pardon of our souls and the remission of our sins, for the service of God alone, quit of burdens for military service, or building of bridges, or fortifica-

¹ The Latin text is obscure, ungrammatical, and probably corrupt.

eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum sine cessatione preces fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus. Acta sunt hæc apud Wintoniam, in ecclesia sancti Petri, anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCC.LV, Indictione III., nonas Novembris, ante majus altare, pro honore gloriosæ virginis, et Dei genetricis, Mariæ, Sanctique Michaelis archangeli, et beati Petri apostolorum principis, necnon et beati patris nostri Gregorii papæ. Præsentibus et subscribentibus archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ universis, necnon Beorredo rege Merciæ, et Edmundo Eastanglorum rege; abbatum et abbatissarum, ducum, comitum, procerumque totius terræ, aliorumque fidelium infinita multitudine, qui omnes regium chirographum laudaverunt; dignitates vero sua nomina subscripserunt. Rex vero Ethelwulphus, pro firmitate ampliore, obtulit hanc chartulam scriptam super altare Sancti Petri apostoli; et episcopi, pro fide Dei illam acceperunt, et per omnes ecclesias postea transmiserunt in suis parochiis publicandam.

(From Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. p. 183. Ingulph. See also Birch, *Cartularium Saxonum*, vol. ii. p. 85, where Brit. Mus. MS. Arundel, 178, f. 7, is cited. The genuineness of this charter cannot be guaranteed.)

tions, so that prayer may be offered to God for us without intermission, and with diligence all the greater, because in some degree we have lightened the obligations of the petitioners. Done at Winchester in the church of S. Peter, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 855, in the third Indiction, on the fifth of November, in front of the high-altar, for the honour of the glorious Virgin, Mary, mother of God, and S. Michael the Archangel, and the blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles, and of our blessed father Pope Gregory. Present and subscribing hereto, the archbishops and bishops of England, without exception; also Burrhed, king of Mercia, and Edmund, king of the East Angles, and a multitude past counting of abbots and abbesses, princes, aldermen, and nobles of all England, and other faithful persons, all of whom approved the king's autograph, while those of high rank subscribed their names. Moreover, King Ethelwolf, for greater security, offered this charter upon the altar of Saint Peter the Apostle, and the bishops accepted the oblation as for the Christian faith, and afterwards forwarded copies of the same to all the churches to be promulgated in their several dioceses.

(II.) CARTA BEORREDI REGIS MERCIÆ

Kemble, vol. ii. p. 89.

Beorredus, largiente Dei gratia Merciorum rex. . . . Quoniam, peccatis nostris exigentibus, manum Domini super nos extensam quotidie cum virga ferrea cernimus nostris cervicibus imminere. . . . Confirmo ergo Deo et Sanctissimo confessori suo Guthlaco Croylandiæ . . . totam insulam suo monasterio adjacentem ; . . .

Istud regium chirographum meum anno incarnationis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi octingentesimo sexagesimo octavo, calend. Augusti apud Snotryngham Coram fratribus et amicis et omni populo meo in obsidione paganorum congregatis sanctæ crucis munimine confirmaui.

✠ Ego Ceolnothus, etc. etc.

✠ Ego Alfredus, frater regis Uuest Saxoniz, consensi.

✠ Ego Edmundus rex West (sic pro East) Angliæ procuraui.

(From MS. Arundel, 178, fol. 35 *b.*) This charter, like the preceding, is not of unimpeachable genuineness.)

CHARTER OF BURRHED, KING OF MERCIA

A.D. 868, *Aug. 1.*

Burrhed, through the bounteous grace of God, king of the Mercians. . . . Inasmuch as, owing to our sins, the hand of the Lord is daily stretched out over us, and with a rod of iron hangs, as we see, over our necks, I confirm to God and his most holy confessor Guthlac at Croyland, . . . the grant of all that island which adjoins his monastery ; . . .

And I have confirmed this my royal autograph with the guarantee of the holy cross this first day of August in the year 868 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, at or near Nottingham in the presence of my brothers and friends and all my people assembled for the blockade of the heathen.

I, Ceolnoth, etc. etc.

I, Alfred, brother to the king of Wessex, have consented.

I, Edmund, king of East Anglia, have procured this.

PART II.—(II.)

CHARTERS OF EARLY ENGLISH KINGS TO THE
MONASTERY OF S. EDMUND(I.) CHARTER OF KING EDMUND TO BURY
MONASTERY, A.D. 945.

*Arnold, 'Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey,' vol. i., collated with
Cart. Sax. (Birch).*

✠ In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis. Quamvis decreta pontificum, et verba sacerdotum velud fundamenta montium in districtis ligaminibus fixa sunt, tamen plerumque (per) tempestates et turbines sæcularium rerum etiam religio sanctæ dei ecclesiæ maculis reproborum dissipatur ac rumpitur. Idcirco incertum futurorum temporum statum providentes, posteris succedentibus profuturum esse decrevimus, ut ea quæ communi tractu salubri consilio definiuntur certis litterulis roborata confirmentur. Quapropter ego Eadmundus rex Anglorum terrarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector, ad memoriam revoco gesta antecessorum meorum qui terrenis opibus ecclesias sanctorum ditaverunt; quorum exempla imitatus, ad monasterium quod situm est in loco qui dicitur Bedericeswirthe, in quo sanctus Ædmundus rex et martyr quiescit corpore, terram quæ circa illum locum esse videtur libenter tribuo et (ut) æternaliter

In the name of the Holy Trinity. Albeit the decrees of pontiffs and the ordinances of priests are fixed, fastened, and secured, even as the foundations of the hills, yet too often through the tempests and whirlwinds of earthly events even the religion of God's holy church is shattered and broken by the evil-doing of reprobate men, we therefore, foreseeing the uncertain condition of times to come, have deemed it to be expedient for generations yet to follow, that those decisions, which have been formed after common debate by wholesome counsels, should be corroborated and confirmed in writing; wherefore I, Eadmund, king of the English, and governor and ruler of the countries of all nations dwelling round about, recall to mind the deeds of my ancestors, who have enriched with this world's goods the churches of the Saints; and imitating their examples, I give with goodwill to the monastery situate in the place which is called Bedericesworth, wherein reposes the body of Saint Eadmund, king and martyr, all that land which lies round that place, in such wise that it may continue for ever in

persistat catenus (eatenus) ut illam ejusdem monasterii familia possideat, atque suis posteribus (posteritatibus) eadem ditione derelinquant. Sit autem prædicta terra libera ab omni mundiali obstaculo, cum omnibus quæ olim ad ipsum locum pertinere dignoscuntur, tam in magnis quam in modicis rebus, campis, pascuis, pratis, sylvis. Et non reddat aliquid debitum nisi ad necessitatem familiæ ejusdem ecclesiæ. (Exceptis istis tribus expeditione, pontis arcisve coedificatione, *al. lect.*)

Si quis autem propria temeritate violenter invadere præsumperit nostram prænotatam donationem, sciat procul dubio ante tribunal districti judicis titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum, nisi prius hic digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.

Istis terminibus (terminis) prædicta terra circumgyrata esse videtur;—

This synden tha landgemæro, the Ædmund kyng gebocade into See. Ædmunde. Thonne is theer ærest suth be eahte (ahte) treowan, and thonne up be Ealhmundes treowan, and swa forth to Osulfes lea, and swa forth on gerichte be manige hyllan, and thanan up to Hamarluda, and swa forth to fower hogas (hagas), and swa æfter them wege to Litlantune, and thonan ofer the ea æfter tham wege to Bertunedene, and swa on gerihte east to Holegate, and swa forth an furlong be easten Bromleaga, and thonan suth to Niwantune meadwe. (Fa)cta est hæc præfata donatio anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jhesu Christi 945, indictione III. (E)go Ædmundus rex Anglorum præfatam donationem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis indeclinabiliter confirmavi.

the possession of the family of that monastery, to be by them transmitted, subject to like conditions, to their successors. Let the land aforesaid be free from all worldly burthens; including all things which are recognised as appertaining to the said place, great things as well as little; fields, pastures, meadows, and woods. And let it be exempt from the payment of all dues, except for the necessities of the family of the same church. (Except the three taxes for military purposes, and construction of bridges and fortifications, *another version*.)

But if any person, of his own temerity, shall presume forcibly to trespass upon this our aforementioned grant, let him know for certain that, reeling and trembling, he shall give account of his misdoing before the throne of the most strict judge, unless he shall on earth have seen fit to make timely amends by condign satisfaction.

These are the boundaries by which the land aforesaid appears to be enclosed:—

These are the landmarks of the estate which King Eadmund conveyed to S. Eadmund. In the first place, then, to the south by eight trees, and thence up by Alcmund's trees, and so onwards to Osulf's lea, and so straight onwards by several hills, and thence up to Hamar's lode, and so onwards to four enclosed tenements, and so by the road to Little town, and so across the water following the way to Barton vale, and so straight east to Hologate, and so onwards one furlong to the east of Broomley, and thence south to Nowton meadow.

The grant aforesaid was made in the year 945 from our Lord's Incarnation. Indiction III.

I, Eadmund, king of the English, have immutably confirmed the grant aforesaid with the sign of the holy cross.

(E)go Elfgyva regina firmiter confirmavi et corroboravi.

(E)go Odo Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus etc.

(E)go Theodred Lundoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus corroboravi,
etc. etc.

[Hi sunt terræ termini, quam Ædmundus rex scripto contulit sancto Ædmundo. Inprimis igitur austrum versus per cuiusdam (?) Ahti arborem, et inde sursum per (?) Eadmundi arborem, et sic deinceps ad Osulfi campum; et sic deinceps recta per plures montes; et inde sursum ad Hamari fluentum; et sic deinceps ad quatuor sepes (?); et sic per viam ad Litlandtunam (modicam villam) et inde trans aquam per viam ad Bertunæ (villæ frumentariæ) vallem; et sic recta orientem versus ad Holgatam (portam ad cavam); et sic deinceps uno stadio ad orientem Bromligæ (myricarum campi), et inde austrum versus ad Niwentunæ (villæ novæ) pratum.]

I, Elfgyva, the queen, have firmly confirmed and ratified it.

I, Odo, archbishop of the Church of Canterbury, etc.

I, Theodred, bishop of the Church of London, have ratified it, etc. etc.

N.B.—In the Latin version of the boundaries we have the tree of Ahtus, for eight trees; the tree of Eadmund, for the trees of Alcmund; four hedges, for four hagas (tenements enclosed by hedges). Holegate would seem to be somewhere near the Tollgate. Is it the same? Broomley is apparently represented by 'Broom Layer' in Westley, a large field running towards Saxham.

(II.) BISHOP DEODRED, *Circa* 950.*Kemble*, vol. iv. p. 291.

✠ In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Ic Deodred
 Lundeneware biscop. . . . And ic an ðat lond at Horham and
 at Elyngtone into Hoxne into sancte Æðelbrihtes kirke ðen
 Godes hewen. . . . And ic an ðat lond at Newetune and at
 Horningges hæð and at Ikewrð and at Wepstede into sancte
 Eadmundes kirke ðen Godes hewen to are for Ðedred bisscopes
 soule. . . . And ic an at Hoxne at mine biscopricke ðat men
 dele . x . pund for mine soule ; and ic wille ðat men nieme ðat
 erfe ðat at Hoxne stand, ðat ic ðerto bigeten habbe, and dele
 it man on to half into ðe minstre, and (patoper) dele for min
 soule.

(From MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab., Ff. 2, 33, fol. 48.)

WILL OF BISHOP THEODRED

See Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 513.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I, Theodred, bishop of London, . . . give that land at Horham and at Athelington to Hoxne to the church of S. Æthelberht for God's servants. . . . And I give that land at Nowton, and at Horningsheath (Horringer), and at Ickworth, and at Whepstead to Saint Eadmund's church for God's servants in property for the soul of Theodred the bishop. . . . And I give at Hoxne, at my bishopric, ten pounds to be distributed for my soul. And I will that the property which stands at Hoxne, which I have thereto acquired, be taken and divided into two, half to the monastery, and half for my soul.

(III.) CHARTER OF KING CNUT

Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 307.

On ælmihtiges Drihtnes naman. Ic Cnut Kyning kyðe eallum mannum ymbe þone ræd þe ic mid minum rædgyfum gerædd hæbbe . for minre sawle þearfe ⁊ for ealles þeodscypes gesundfulnysse, þis . ꝥ ic ann ece freodomes þam halgan kyninge Sancte Eadmundes swa forð swa he fyrrest hæfde into þære stowe þe he on restað . ⁊ swa wille ic ꝥ se freodom stande on his geweald unawend . buton elces bisceopes anwealde þære scire ecelice freo . ⁊ swa fela syðe swa menn gylðað heregyld oððe to scipgyld . gylde se tunscepe . swa swa oðre menn doð . to þære muneca neode þe þær binnan sceolon for us þeouian . ⁊ we gecuron ꝥ hit næfre ne sceolde ænig mann gewendan to oðres hades mannum . buton he wolde beon ascyred fram Godes gemanan ⁊ eallum his þam halgum . ⁊ ic geann þam munecan to fodan ealne þone fixnoð þe Ulfkytel ahte æt Wyllan . and min gafol fisc . þe me arist be sæ lande . ⁊ mine cwen Ælfgyfu ann þam halgum feower þusend sela . mid here lacon þe herto gebyriað . æt Lakynges hyðe . ⁊ ic ann heom ealra heora tun socne of ealla heora lande þe hi nu habbað . ⁊ git begitan sceolon on Godes este.

(From MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant., Ff. 2, 33, fols. 20 and 20 b.)

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

CHARTER OF CNUT AT KING'S LYNN

In the name of the Almighty Lord. I, Cnut King, make known to all men, with respect to the resolution which I have adopted with my counsellors, for my soul's need, and for the well-being of all the nation, this—That I grant perpetual freedom to the holy King Saint Eadmund, as complete as he best had it, at the place in which he rests. And I will so that the freedom stand in his control unperverted, exempt from every bishop's power, in relation to that shire eternally free. And as often as men pay the army-tax, or for ship-tax, let the township pay, so as other men do, for the need of the monks who shall for us therein serve. And we have resolved that no man shall ever turn it to men of another order, unless he would be cut off from the communion of God and all his Saints. And I give to the monks for food all the fishing that Ulfkytel owned at Wells, and my toll-fish which accrue to me from the maritime lands. And my queen Ælfgifu (Emma) gives to the Saint four thousand eels, with the gifts which are incident thereto, at Lakenheath. And I give to them tun-soen of all their lands which they now have, and, by favour of God, may yet acquire.

Mr. Thorpe assigns Cnut's charter to date 1018, but this seems impossible, as the monks were not brought to Bury till 1020. Mr. Arnold (vol. i. p. 342) quotes from the annotations to Bodley, 297, the following :—A.D. 1032, . . . *Ipsa tempore sed et ante aliquot annos, id est anno MXXVIII. Indict. xi. benignissimus rex Canutus concessit sanctissimo regi et martyri Eadmundo hoc privilegium :—In nomine poliarchis, etc., the Latin charter, of which the Old English text here given is an abridged version.*

(IV.) CHARTA HARDACNUTI REGIS

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 60 ; *Thorpe*, p. 342.

✠ In nomine sanctæ trinitatis et individue unitatis! Descriptio immunitatis Hardenut Anglorum regis, super monasterio sancti Eadmundi martyris. . . . Ego Hardenut, rex Anglorum vocatus, . . . dei omnipotentis succensus amore, et ejusdem martyris patrocinio gaudens et honore, cum fauore laudeque æcclesiasticorum pastorum, mundanorumque principum taliter descriptum constituo roboroque præceptum, ut nullus archiepiscoporum aut episcoporum, aut aliqua secundi ordinis eorum disciplinatui adhærentium personarum audens quoquo modo hujus nostræ constitutionis uiolare iudicium præsumat quicquam consuetudinis sive dominationis amodo in eodem monasterio et uilla super monachos clericos aut laicos proclamare, usurpare, justitiam aliquam facere, aut missas celebrare, nisi monitus fuerit ab ipsius loci abbate, aut ipsi abbati pro homicidio aut adulterio placuerit aliquem suorum ad eum mittere. Si quis uero posterorum, quod non optamus futurum, hoc aggressus fuerit temere calumpniari aut infringere decretum, præsentium æcclesiasticorum prolatæ excommunicationi subiaceat, et cum Iuda traditore ignis Tartarei poenas indesinenter luat et sustineat, et insuper regio fisco xxx. auri talenta persoluat.

Ego Hardenut, etc.

Ego Ymma regina, mater ipsius Hardenut, gaudenter assensum præbui.

.

To face v. 598

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity ! Here follows the description of the exemption granted by Harthacnut, king of the English, in favour of the monastery of S. Eadmund the martyr. . . . I, Harthacnut, styled King of the English, . . . inflamed by love of Almighty God, and rejoicing in the patronage and honour of the martyr aforesaid, with the sanction and approval of the Shepherds of the Church, and of secular princes, establish and confirm as under written the decree, that no archbishop or bishop, and no person of inferior rank, subject to their jurisdiction, shall venture or presume in any way to contravene the tenor of this my ordinance, or at any time hereafter to claim or usurp any usage or authority in the said monastery and town over the monks, clergy, or laity, or to hold any Court, or to celebrate mass therein, unless he shall have been allowed so to do by the Abbot of that place, or the Abbot shall have been pleased, in case of homicide or adultery, to commit any of his folk to such prelate. And if any one hereafter, contrary to my desire, shall attempt rashly to challenge or infringe this decree, let him be subjected to excommunication on the sentence of the ecclesiastics present, and with the traitor Judas eternally undergo and suffer the pains of hell-fire, and, moreover, pay to the royal exchequer thirty talents of gold.

I, Harthacnut, etc.

I, Emma, Queen, mother of the said Harthacnut,
rejoice to give my consent.

.

Ego Ælfricus, Elmhamensis episcopus, consignauī.
etc. etc. etc.

This charter is not of assured authenticity in the form in which it is given from MS. B. P. Cantab., Ff. 2, 33, fol. 21. Thorpe points out that an Ælfrie, bp. of Elmham, died in 1038. But the charter of Harthacnut was successfully pleaded towards the middle of the fourteenth century, by the Abbot of Bury against William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich.

I, Ælfrie, bishop of Elmham, have countersigned.
etc. etc. etc.

In Thorpe's text (p. 345), the text of the charter winds up with an eloquent blessing on those (conservatores) who keep and further the king's ordinance.

(V.) CHARTÆ EADWARDI REGIS

Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 347, M.XLII.

✠ Ic Eadward cyngc cyðe on þissan gewrite eallum leaffullum mannum hwet ic geredd habbe wið mine arcebiscopas . 7 biscopas . 7 abbodes . 7 eorlas . 7 wið ealle mine þegenas . ꝥ is ꝥ ic wille ꝥ See Eadmundes mynster . mines meges . 7 se tun þe þat mynster inne is . beo ecelice on þan ilce freodome ðe Cnut cyng 7 Harðecnut cyngc min broðer þiderin geuðen . ne neofre se stede ne worðe geloged mid oðres hades mannum þanne mid munecum ne nan þere biscope ðe æfre ma sceal beon on Nortðfolce oððe on Suðfolce ne habbe næfre nan insting on þat mynster . ne swa wid swa þes tunes mærces gæð þe þat mynster inne stent . 7 þa munecas cysan heom ealdor of heom silfum . swa swa riht is . And ic wille ꝥ seo socne 7 seo sace þe ic heom geunnen habbe . stande unawend æfre . swa hwær hi nu habben land . oððe men . oððe get begeoton sculon . þurh Godes fultum . 7 godre manne . Nu bidde ic ealle Godes freond . ægðer ge þa ðe nu libbað . ge þa ðe æfter us cumen sculon . ꝥ hi . for Godes eige . næfre ne beon on stede ne on stealle þær æfre undon worðe ꝥ ure foregengles geuden . 7 we nu geunnen habben into ꝥ halige minstre . And gif þonne æfre ænig man swa dysig worðe . þurh þes deofles lare . ꝥ he þis wiðcweðen wylle 7 awegen . seo he amansumed 7 on helle susle beseinct . buten he ær his lifes ende þe deopere beote .

This charter was 'lecta coram baronibus de scaccario et allocata,' recited in presence of the barons of the exchequer, and allowed.

(From MS. B. P. Cantab., Ff. 2, 33, fol. 22. Harl. 743, fol. 59 b.)

CHARTERS OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

A.D. 1042.

I, King Eadward, make known in this writing to all faithful men what I have resolved with my archbishops, and bishops, and abbots, and earls, and with all my thanes. That is, that I will that the monastery of S. Eadmund, my kinsman, and the town in which that monastery is, enjoy perpetually that freedom that King Cnut and King Harthacnut, my brother, granted thereto; and that the place be never occupied by men of another order than monks; and that none of the bishops who shall ever henceforth be in Norfolk or Suffolk shall have any authority in that monastery, or within the limits of the town in which that monastery stands, and that the monks shall choose from among themselves, as is just, a head (elder). And I will that the soke and the sac, which I have granted them, shall endure immutably, wheresoever they now have land or men, or may henceforth acquire the same through the help of God and of good men. Now I pray all friends of God, both those who are now living, and those who shall come after us, that, for fear of God, they never, in stead or in stall, suffer to be undone what our predecessors have granted, and what we have now granted to the holy monastery. And if ever hereafter any man be so foolish, through the instigation of the devil, as to gainsay and frustrate this, let him be excommunicated, and plunged in the torments of hell, unless, before his life's end, he makes profound atonement.

LATIN VERSION OF THE CHARTER OF MXLII.

Thorpe, p. 419.

✠ Ego Eadwardus rex Anglorum notifico in his literis omnibus dei fidelibus quod consiliatus sum cum meis archiepiscopis et episcopis et abbatibus et comitibus, et cum omnibus meis baronibus, videlicet, volo et præcipio quod monasterium cognati mei Sancti Edmundi, et villa in qua situm est illud monasterium, sit perpetualiter in eadem libertate quam Cnut rex et Hardecnut rex, meus frater, ei concesserunt, et quod ille locus nunquam sit locatus cum aliis personis quam cum monachis; nec aliquis episcopus qui est, vel unquam erit, in Norfolc vel Suffolc, habeat unquam potestatem aliquam in eodem monasterio, nec infra fines ejusdem ville crucibus designatos. Et monachi qui ibi degunt eligant sibi abbatem de seipsis, sicuti eidem monasterio et eadem ville concessi. Permaneat in perpetuum, ubicunque habent monachi terras sive homines, seu in futurum acquirent per dei auxilium et bonorum hominum. Nunc igitur rogo omnes Dei amicos, qui nunc vivunt seu futuri sunt, quod pro timore Dei nunquam sint in loco seu in concilio ubi prædicta libertas sit mutata vel adnichillata, quam antecessores nostri et nos Sancto Edmundo et monasterio suo concessimus. Quod si aliquis fuerit ita vesanus per incitamenta diaboli, quod velit hanc libertatem mutare, sive in aliquo adnichillare vel depravare, sit ille anathematizatus, et in Gehennam ignis demersus, nisi in vita sua resipuerit.

(From Addit. MS., 5811.)

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 219.

✠ Eadward king gret Ælfric biscop, and alle mine þeynes on Norfolc and on Suffolc frendlike, and ic kiþe ihu þat ic wille þat Uui abbot be ðes minstres wirde at seynt Eadmundes biri, and alle þinge ðe ðerto bireth on lande, and on sake, and on sokne and on alle þinge, so ful and so forð so it firmest ðider inne lay; and ic wille þat se freols stonde into þat minstre unawent ðe Cnut king ðiderinne uðe, and siðen Hardenut kyng, mine broðer, and ic nelle þat ani bisscop ani þing him ðer on a ateo.

(From MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ff. 2, 33, fol. 22 b.)

I Edward king greet in friendly wise Ælfric bishop, and all my thegns in Norfolk and Suffolk, and I give you to know that I will that Uvius (Wi) abbot be recognised as lord of the monastery at Saint Edmund's bury, and of all things thereunto appertaining, in land, and sac, and socn, and in all things, as fully and freely as they belonged thereto at the best, and I will that the freedom of that monastery abide unchanged, as King Cnut gave it thereunto, and as King Harthacnut, my brother, afterwards granted it, and I will that no bishop seek to exercise any jurisdiction there.

Kemble, vol. vi. p. 205.

Eadwardus rex omnibus episcopis, comitibus, et baronibus de universis provinciis ubicumque sanctus Eadmundus habet aliquam terram salutem amicabiliter. Notum vobis sit quod Ego jubeo ut Lefstanus abbas et fratres habeant sokam suam et sakam in omnibus terris quas homines illi sancto Eadmundo et monasterio dederunt, tam plenarie et perfectæ sicuti habuerunt qui ante easdem terras possederunt; et nolo pati quod aliquis eis injuriam faciat.

(Fom Addit. MS. Brit. Mus., 14,847, f. 34 b.)

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 230.

✠ Eadward kyng gret mine biscopas, and mine earles, and alle mine þeines on ðe schiren ðer ðe lond liget inne frendlike; and ic kiðe ihn ðat ic wille ðat Lefston abbot and ða breðre ðat heben here sake and here sokne wrðe ofer de lond ðat men into ðat halege stowe becueð, so ful and so forð so he hafede ðe it her aihte. And ic nelle þafien ðat men hem ani unrið bede.

(From MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. 2, 33, fol. 22 b.)

Kemble, vol. vi. p. 205.

✠ On almiðin drihtines name! Ic Eadward king kyðe alle manne ðe red ðat ic mid alle mine redgiuen red habbe for mine soule perfe, and for alle mine þedschipes sindfulnessse. Ðat is ðat ic an eke fredames ðan halegen kinge seint Eadmunde so forð so he ferrest hauede into ðere stowe ðe he onrestet. An so (ic) wille him ðat se fredom stonde on his welde, ðat so fele siðe so men gildeð hire gilde to heregilde, oðer to schipgeld, gilde ðe tunschipe so oðere men don to ðe abbotes nede and ðere moneke ðe ðer binine schulen for us seruen; and ðe abbote-riche ðat Cnut king ðer ches, and siðen Hardecnut king mine broðer also it staðelfaste, and ic suðen eac swilke mid ðere schirebiscopes rede, and mid mine wedde, and alle mine biscope, and alle mine wytene it fultremede ðat ic nefre ne schulle ani man wenden to oðere hodes manne, buten he wolde ben aschired from Godes manne and alle hise halegen. And ic an ðan halegen kinge ðat land at Mildenhale, mid mete and mid manne, and mid sokne so it me on hande stod, and ðe half-nigende hundredes sokne into Ðinghowe. And ic han hem al here tune-sokene of hale here londe ðe he nu habbeð oðer giet bigiten schullen on Godes este and on mines an alle folkes. God how healde!

(From Add. MS. Brit. Mus., 14,847, f. 35.)

Translation from Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 417.

In the name of the Almighty Lord! I King Eadward make known to all men the counsel on which I have resolved with all my counsellors, for my soul's need and for the well-being of all my people. That is, that I grant perpetual freedom to the holy king S. Eadmund, as free as he best had it, at the holy place in which he rests. And I will that the freedom so stand in his power, that as often as men pay their payment to the military tax or the ship tax, let the township pay, as other men do, for the need of the abbot and the monks who have there to serve for us. And the abbacy which King Cnut there chose, and afterwards King Harthacnut, my brother, likewise established, and I also since, with the counsel of the shire-bishop, and with my pledge, and that of all my bishops, and all my witan, have confirmed so that no man shall ever turn it to men of an another order, unless he would be cut off from God's communion and all his saints. And I give to the holy king the land at Mildenhall, with meat and with men and with socn, as it stood in my hand; and the eight and a half hundreds socn at Thingoe. And I give them all their town-socn of all their lands, which they now have or yet may obtain, through God's favour, and mine, and all the people's. God preserve you!

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 252. Latin version of the preceding.

✠ In omnipotentis dei nomine! Ego Eadwardus rex indico omnibus hominibus de consilio quod consiliatus sum cum omnibus consiliariis meis pro remedio animæ meæ et pro incolumitate tocius gentis meæ; hoc est, quod annuo æternam libertatem sancto regi Eadmundo in loco in quo requiescit ita pleniter sicut unquam plenius habui, et hoc uolo ut libertas ita stet in ejus potestate, ut, quotiens homines censum persoluerint exercitui uel nauibus, tociens uillæ ejus habitatores censum persoluant uelut alii homines ad necessitatem abbatis et monachorum qui ibi debent pro nobis seruire. Et abbatiam, quam Cnut rex ibi elegit, ac postea frater meus Hardecnut rex simili modo stabiliiuit, pignore meo et omnium episcoporum meorum cunctorumque procerum necnon comitatum ejusdem episcopi consilio corroborauit, ut nunquam aliquis debeat transmutare ad alterius ordinis uiros, nisi uelit separari a comunione dei et omnium sanctorum ejus. Annuo etiam sancto regi Eadmundo terram ad Myldenhale cum uictu et hominibus; et jura regalia viii. et dimidiam placitorum (dimidii hundredorum) ad Dynghowe quod Anglice dicitur nygend half hundred; et omnium uillarum suarum jura regalia annuo in omnibus terris quas modo habent et quas adquisituri sunt in dei amore ac mei et tocius populi.

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 194.

✠ Eadward kyng gret Grimketel bisscop, and Ælfwine, and Ælfric, and alle mine þegnes on Suðfolk frendlike; and ic kiðe ihu ðat ic wille ðat ðat lond at Mildenhale, and ða nigend half hundred socne into Ðinghowe lie into seint Eadmunde mid sake and mid sokne, so ful and so forðe so it mine moder on hande istod, and ic nelle þaæn ðat hom ani man abrede ani ðere þinge ðat ic hem her uðe.

(From MS. Harl., 743, fol. 59; MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ee. 3, 60, fol. 127, and ditto Ff. 2, 33, fol. 22.)

Kemble, vol. vi. p. 203.

✠ Eadward king gret Grimketel biscop, and Ælfgar, earl and Toly, and alle mine þeines on Suðfolk frendlike; and ic kiðe ihu ðat ic wille ðat ðe half nigende sokne ðe into Ðinghowe lige into seint Eadmunde, mid sake and mid sokne, so ful and so forð so it mine moder on hande istod; and ic nelle þathien ðat hem oni man abrede ani ðere þinge ðat ic her uðe.

(From Add. MS. Brit. Mus., 14847, f. 34.)

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 208.

✠ Eadward kyng gret Stigand bisscop, and Harald erl, and alle mine þeynes on Est Angle frendlike, and ic kiðe ihu ðat ic wille ðat alle þinge ðe mid richte bireð into seynt Eadmundes ore mine meyes, and gode men ðider inne uðon, lige ðider in unbesaken. And ic ne þathien ðat ani man uttige ani þing ðat hem mid richte tobireð, neiðer ne on londe ne on oðere þingan.

(From MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ff. 2, 33, fol. 23.)

I Edward the King greet Bishop Grimketel, and Ælfwine and Ælfric, and all my thegns in Suffolk in friendly manner, and I give you to know that I will that the land at Mildenhall, and the soke of the eight and a half hundreds assembled at Thingoe belong unto S. Edmund with sac and soen, as fully and freely as it stood in my mother's hands, and I will not suffer that any man detract in any particular from this my grant.

I Edward the king greet in friendly manner Bishop Grimketel, and Earl Ælfgar, and Toly, and all my thegns in Suffolk; and I give you to know that I will that the soke of the eight and a half hundreds assembled at Thingoe belong to Saint Edmund, with sac and soke, as fully and freely as my mother possessed it; and I will not suffer that any man detract in any particular from this my grant.

I Edward the king greet Bishop Stigand, and Earl Harold, and all my thegns in East Anglia, in friendly manner, and I give you to know that I will that all things which of right belong to Saint Edmund my kinsman, and which good men have given thereunto, continue in the same hands without cavil. And I will not suffer that any man subtract anything that of right belongs to him, be it land or any other thing.

CHARTÆ EDWARDI REGIS

Kemble, vol. iv. p. 222.

✠ Eadweard cyninge gret Ægelmar b . 7 Gyrd eorl 7 tolig
 and ealle mine begenas . on subfolce . freondlice . 7 ic cyðe eow
 ꝥ ic wylle ꝥ þa healf nygoðe hundreda socne ligæ innto þam
 halgan mynstre innto sçe Eadmundes byrig mines mæges . swa
 full . 7 swa forð swa ælfric wihtgares sunu hig minre moder to
 handa beswiste . 7 heo syððan me sylfan on handa stod . on
 eallan þingan . 7 ic hig þither inn geuðe mid ælc þæra (þinga)
 þas þe þær mid rihte to gebyrað . mid fyrdwite . 7 fyhtwite . 7
 æbæreþeof . 7 griðbryce . 7 foresteall . 7 hamsocne . 7 ic
 bidde eow eallan ꝥ ge beon Baldewine abbe on fultume . ꝥ he
 mote beon ælc þæra gerihta wurðe . þæs þe he ah þærof rihtlice
 to habbene . for minan lufan . 7 ic ne eom gecnawe ꝥ ic
 ænigean menn geafe þa socne þanon ut þe ic hig ær þider inn
 geofrode . 7 gyf ænic mann sy ꝥ wylle ænig þæra socna him
 to handa drægen . 7 secge ꝥ ic hig ær him geunnan sceolde . ic
 wylle ꝥ he cum beforan me mid his sweotelunge . 7 dome
 gecnawe hwær ic him ær geuðe ꝥ nan oþer ne sy.

(From MS. Brit. Mus. Cott., Aug. 11, 49 ; Harl., 638, fol. 14 ;
 MS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ff. 2, 33, fol. 22 b.)

I Edward king greet in friendly manner Aylmer bishop, and Gurth earl, and Toly, and all my thegns in Suffolk, and I give you to know that I will that the soke of eight hundreds and a half reside in the holy monastery in the burgh of S. Edmund my kinsman, as fully and freely as Ælfric the son of Withgar held it on my mother's behalf, and as I afterwards had it in keeping, in all things; and as I gave it thereunto with all its rightful appurtenances, with fyrdwite and fyhtwite, and ebberthief, and grithbryce and foresteal and hamsocne, and I bid you all to support Abbot Baldwin so that he may enjoy all the rights which he is of right entitled to have in respect thereof, for the love of myself. And I know not that I have granted to any man the soke thereof otherwise than I have bestowed it upon that monastery. And if any man there be, who would wrest to his own possession any of these privileges, and should say that I first gave them to him, I will that he appear before me with his evidences, and be put to proof where I first granted it to him without any witness.

DOMESDAY BOOK

In villa ubi quiescit humatus Sanctus Eadmundus Rex et Martyr gloriosus tempore Eadwardi Regis B(aldwinus) Abbas tenuit ad victum monachorum CXVIII homines—et poterant dare et vendere terram suam—et sub eis LII bordarios a quibus Abbas potest habere aliquid adjutorii, LIIII liberos satis inopes, XLIII elemosinarios—quisque eorum habet I bordarium. Modo II molina. Et II vivaria vel piscinæ. Hæc villa tunc valebat x libras, modo xx. Habet in longo I leugam et dimidiam, et in lato tantum. Et quando in hundreto solvitur ad geltum I libra tunc inde exeunt LX denarii ad victum monachorum. Sed hoc est de villa sicut in tempore Eadwardi regis, si ita est; modo vero majori ambitu continetur de terra quæ tunc arabatur et seminabatur. Ubi sunt xxx inter presbyteros diaconos et clericos, xxviii inter nonnas et pauperes qui cotidie pro rege et omni populo Christiano deprecantur; lxxx minus quinque inter pistorum, cervisarios, sartores, lavatores, sutores, parmentarios, kocos, portitores, dispensatores, et hi omnes cotidie ministrant Sancto et abbati et fratribus. Præter

DOMESDAY BOOK

In the town where the glorious Martyr and King Saint Eadmund lies interred, in the time of King Eadward, Baldwin the Abbot held for the sustenance of the monks 118 men—and they could give or sell their land—and under them 52 bordars, from whom the Abbot can have a modicum of aid, 54 freemen poor enough, 43 almsmen, each of whom has one bordar. Now there are 2 mills, and 2 stews or fish-ponds. This town was valued at £10, now at £20. It is a league and a half in length, and the same in width. And when a pound is paid in the hundred for gelt, then 60 pence issue from the town for the sustenance of the monks. But this is to be understood of the town as it was in the time of King Eadward, if such is the fact; now, however, the town spreads over a wider extent of land which then used to be ploughed and sown. And therein there are priests, deacons, and clerks to the number of 30; and recluse * women and indigent persons to the number of 28, who daily repeat their prayers for the king and for all Christian people; bakers, brewers, tailors, laundry-folk, shoemakers, clothiers, cooks, porters, stewards, to the number of 80, short of 5; and all these daily attend on the Saint, and on the abbot and the brethren.

* It is tempting to translate 'nonnas' by the word 'nuns,' but the scribe probably meant, not women under vows, professed nuns, but widows and others who had retired from worldly occupations.

quos sunt XIII super terram prepositi, qui habent domos suas in eadem villa, et sub eis v bordarii. Modo XXXVIII milites inter Francos et Anglicos, et sub eis XXII bordarii. Modo inter totum CCCXLII domus de dominio terra Sancti Eadmundi arabilis tempore Eadwardi regis.

N.B.—The text has been taken from the photo-zincographed facsimile of Domesday, after collation with Mr. Arnold's version (*Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls Series), and with the *Suffolk Domesday*, privately printed by the late Lord John Hervey, and will be found somewhat more exact than either of these versions.

.3.e.

In illa ubi q̄clerc humatus s̄c̄ cadmundus. R. 7 alar. ḡt̄osus q̄p̄r
 E. R. B. Abb. tenuit aduictū monachos. c. xxviii. hoēs 7 pot. dat
 oruende t̄rā suam 7 sub eis. L. u. bord. aq̄b; abb potest habē aliq̄d ad
 uictū. L. iii. libos sacis inopes. xl. iii. elemosin. q̄sq; eoz hē. i. bord.
 O. ii. mot. 7. ii. uiuar. t̄p̄scin. h̄ uill t̄c̄ ualar. x. lib. m. xx. h̄t̄ in
 long. 2. l̄ḡ 7 dim. 7 in lat̄ tant. 7 q̄do in hundredo soluit ad ge. i. lib.
 T̄c̄ inde exeunt. Lx. s̄. aduictū monachos 7 h̄c̄ de uilla sic inq̄r. c. r.
 f̄ita ē m̄ ū maiori ambici c̄t̄nēat de t̄rā q̄ t̄c̄ ār̄ seminabatur. ubi
 f̄c̄ xxx. m̄c̄ p̄bros. ch̄ac̄ 7 cler. xxviii. m̄c̄ n̄nas ā paupes q̄ cotidie
 p̄ reg. 7 oī p̄p̄to xp̄iano dep̄cant. Lxx. min⁹ q̄nq; m̄c̄ p̄stales. ceru
 siarios. sartores. lauatores. sutores. par̄m̄c̄. koc̄. port. dispensator.
 7 in oēs cotidie ministr. S. 7 abbi 7 fr̄ib; l̄ ē q̄s f̄c̄. xiii. sup̄ t̄rā p̄posita
 q̄ h̄nt domos suas in eadē uill. 7 sub eis. v. bord. O. xxx. iii. milites m̄c̄
 fr̄. ā angl̄c̄. 7 sub eis. x. ii. bord. O. m̄c̄ totū. ccc. xl. n. dom. de dñio
 āp̄. S. ē. uill. t̄p̄. c. R.

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRIES IN DOMESDAY BOOK RELATING TO THE TOWN OF
 BURY S. EDMUNDS

Reproduced from the photo-zincographed Edition of 1863

Besides these, there are 13 bailiffs over the land, who have their houses in the aforesaid town, and under them are 5 bordars. Now there are knights, French and English, to the number of 34, and under them there are 22 bordars. Now altogether there are 342 houses in demesne on land of Saint Edmund which was under the plough in the time of King Eadward.

CARTA HERBERTI EPISCOPI

THE earliest mention of Hoxne in connection with the martyrdom of S. Edmund is apparently that which occurs in the charter of Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Thetford and afterwards of Norwich, under date 1101, to his newly established church in the last-named city. Of this church, of which the Bishop says '*capud et matrem ecclesiam omnium ecclesiarum de Northfolke et de Southfolke constitui et consecravi*' (I have founded and consecrated it as the capital and mother church of all the churches in Norfolk and Suffolk), certain of the endowments are specified as follows:—'*divido et tribuo ea quæ subscribuntur . . . ecclesiam de Hoxon, cum capella sancti Edmundi ejusdem villæ, ubi idem martyr interfectus est.*' (I allocate and assign the property described hereafter . . . the church of Hoxne, with the chapel of Saint Edmund in the said township, where the same martyr was slain.) The grant is attested by Henry I. and Queen Matilda, and it is stated '*Facta est hæc donatio anno ab incarnatione Domini mill^o cent^o primo mense Septembris.*' (This grant was made A.D. 1101, in the month of September.)

In a diploma of John, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 1281, the charter of Bishop Herbert is recited, with the words relating to the church of Hoxne and the chapel of Saint Edmund, '*Ejusdem villæ, ubi idem martyr interfectus est.*' But in a

charter of confirmation granted by Henry II., as set out in an Inspeximus charter dated 2 Edw. III., we do not find any reference to the death of S. Edmund at Hoxne. Henry II.'s grant runs thus: 'Sciatis me concessisse Deo et ecclesiæ Norwycensi et monachis in ea . . . unam feriam apud Hoxam, . . . ecclesiam sancti Petri de Hoxa cum pertinentibus suis, et capella sancti Edmundi in eadem villa.' (Be it known that I have granted to God and the church of Norwich and the monks therein, a fair at Hoxne, and the church of S. Peter at Hoxne with its appurtenances, and with the chapel of Saint Edmund in the same township.)

The original charter of Bishop Herbert does not seem to be extant, nor is there any early copy of it in existence. It is therefore conceivable, especially when regard is had to the terms of the charter of Henry II., that the words 'ubi idem martyr interfectus est' may have been interpolated into the text of the Bishop's charter at a later date. But assuming them to be genuine, we have here, it seems, the first recorded attempt to connect Hoxne with S. Edmund's martyrdom. It is noticeable that this attempt follows in point of time close upon Hermann's statement (*circ.* 1097) that S. Edmund was first buried at Sutton, 'de prope loco martyrisationis.' Then it should be remembered that Bishop Herbert was a foreigner — 'Normanniæ, in pago Oximensi, natus, Fiscanni monachus' (Hist. Eccl. Norwic. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. 8 B. xvi. in archivis Laudanis, fol. 2, A.)—born in Normandy, in the district of Exmes, and a monk of Fécamp. He might readily, therefore, be misled on such a subject, and his extreme and emotional jealousy of the Abbots of Bury, coupled with a desire to share in the 'goodwill' of the cult of S. Edmund, may have supplied

him with a motive for finding at Hoxne, an old 'sedes episcopi,' an intimate memento of the tragic close of the martyr's struggle with the Danes.

It may be convenient at this place to record the fact that in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1848, part ii. pp. 469-71, appeared a letter, initialled 'T,' which must be regarded as having disposed of the legend of the Hoxne oak, which fell in that year. The material parts of this letter are as follows:—

'There is a paragraph running the round of the papers, headed "Fall of St. Edmund's Oak," to the effect that "the Great Oak in Hoxne Wood," Suffolk, "which has, by long tradition, been pointed out as the veritable tree" at which St. Edmund was shot by the Danes, has lately "fallen to the ground." After stating the magnitude of the tree, in which there is nothing remarkable, we are told that a certain Mr. Smythies, the agent of Sir Edward Kerrison, "found, within side the trunk, an iron point, presumed to have been an arrow-head, a foot deep within the substance of the wood, and about 5 feet above the ground—a discovery which is regarded as verifying the identity of the oak as connected with the monarch's death."

'Now, it happens that, some fifty years ago, or more, I was well acquainted with every inch of this locality, and with the whole swarm of traditions which attach themselves in such rich abundance to every spot in the village. This enables me to assert that there is not, in fact, any place called "Hoxne Wood." Moreover, I state very confidently that, at the time to which I refer, no oak was, traditionally or otherwise, designated as "St. Edmund's Oak." . . .

'Further to the north, when I knew the place, in the midst

of a field, stood an oak, the largest, I believe, within some considerable distance; and I conjecture that this must be the very tree in question. This remarkable tree, however, was then known by the name of Belmore's Oak, and the enclosure was called from it Belmore's Oak Field; nor did I ever hear it mentioned in connection with St. Edmund.'

It may be added that in no book or MS. whatever does there seem to be any mention of, or allusion to, the legend of the Hoxne oak from the time of the A.-S. Chronicle to, say, the date of the battle of Waterloo.

PART III
CHURCH AND CHAPEL DEDICATIONS

PART III

ENGLISH CHURCHES DEDICATED TO S. EDMUND

- SUFFOLK, . . . Assington.
Bromeswell.
Fritton.
Kessingland.
Southwold.
- NORFOLK, . . . Acle.
Burlingham.
Caistor (near Norwich).
Caistor (by Yarmouth).
Costessey (Cossey).
Downham Market.
Egmere (ruined).
Emneth.
Horningtoft.
Hunstanton (recent).
Lynn, N. (demolished).
Norwich.
Southwood.
Swanton-Novers.
Taverham.
Thetford (demolished).
Walpole.

CAMBS.,	.	.	Hauxton.
BEDS.,	.	.	Blunham.
BUCKS.,	.	.	Maids-Moreton.
DERBY,	.	.	Castleton.
			Fenny Bentley (or S. Mary Magd.)
DEVON,	.	.	Dolton.
			Exeter.
			Frithelstock (now SS. Mary and Gregory, formerly also S. Edmund).
			Kingsbridge.
DURHAM,	.	.	Bear Park.
			Edmondbyers.
			Gateshead (recent, from the old S. Edmund's Hospital).
			Sedgefield (but † S. Edmund, Archbishop).
ESSEX, .	.	.	Mersea, East.
			Roding, or Roothing Abbots.
			Tendring.
HANTS,	.	.	Wootton (Isle of Wight).
HEREFORD,	.	.	Abbey-Dore (once V. M. and S. Edmund, now H. T. and S. Mary).
KENT, .	.	.	Kingsdown.
LANCASHIRE,	.	.	Falange.
			Whalley Range (recent).
LINCS.,	.	.	Riby.
			Sutton, Long.
MIDDLESEX, .	.	.	S. Edmund the King, London.
NORTHANTS, .	.	.	Hardingstone.
			Northampton.
			Warkton.

NOTTS, . . .	Hawksworth (or S. Mary and All-Saints). Holme-Pierrepont (Henry VII.'s reign). Mansfield-Woodhouse. Thrumpton (or All-Saints. In York Records, S. Edmund's). Walesby.
OXON., . . .	Hethe (S. George and S. Edmund).
RUTLAND, . . .	Egleton.
SOMERSET, . . .	Vobster (recent).
WESTMORLAND, . . .	Newbiggin.
WILTS, . . .	Salisbury (but? S. Edmund the Archbishop).
WORCESTERSHIRE,	Dudley. Shipston-on-Stour. Stoulton.
YORKS., . . .	Fraisthorpe (E. Riding). Kellington (W. Riding). Knapton (E. Riding). Leeds (W. Riding, recent). Marske (N. Riding). Seaton Ross (E. Riding). Stamford Bridge (now S. John Baptist, E. Riding, old Chapelry).

(2) CHAPELS, ETC., DEDICATED TO S. EDMUND

In addition to the parish churches dedicated in honour of S. Edmund, there were also many chapels and chauntries, altars and guilds, bearing his name. Of the chapels, one of the most noticeable is the chapel of S. Edmund in Westminster Abbey.

It 'seems,' writes Dean Stanley, in his *Memorials of the Abbey*, p. 140, 'to have been regarded as of the next degree of sanctity to the royal chapel of S. Edward,' and its position close to the shrine of the Confessor, whose devotion to his 'kinsman' S. Edmund is historical, accords well with that description. It serves also to explain the conjoint dedication of an altar in Gloucester Abbey to SS. Edmund and Edward. Tewkesbury and Chichester afford further examples of the 'cult' of S. Edmund; and particular importance attaches to the chapels of S. Edmund in Rochester Cathedral, at Dartford, and at Lenham in Kent, in conjunction with the dedication to the martyr of the church of the Kingsdown near Sevenoaks. Nor must the chapel at Hoxne in Suffolk be forgotten.

One instance may be noted of the veneration of S. Edmund in distant regions. When, in 1219, early in November, and therefore with the Festival of S. Edmund in view, Damietta was captured by the Christians, it was determined to convert one of the mosques in that city into a church of the blessed martyr, and a singular incident which occurred in connection with this foundation has been recorded for us, not only in the narrative of an old chronicler, but in a familiar contemporary letter from Sir Richard de Argentyne to a relative, Richard de l'Isle, who was subsequently Abbot of S. Edmundsbury. The narrative and letter are subjoined.

MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA

(Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 243).

A.D. 1219. Cum capta esset civitas (sc. Damietta) a Christianis Nov. 5. archiepiscopi et episcopi fana Maumeti quæ plura ipsa civitate erant in ecclesias sanctorum consecraverunt, ad instantiam vero quorundam militum Anglorum qui ibi aderant, consecratæ sunt duæ ecclesiæ in honore duorum martyrum Anglicanorum, scilicet Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, et Sancti Thomæ archipræsulis Cantuariensis. Quidam vero miles egregius de Anglia, dictus Ricardus de Argentonio, infra ecclesiam beati Edmundi super parietem depingere fecit martyrrium ejusdem. Contigit autem ut, die quadam inter sacra missarum sollemnia, astante multitudine Christianorum, intraret quidam Flandrensis in eandem ecclesiam. Qui cum respiceret [ad] picturam passionis beati martyris, cerneretque effigiem corporis ipsius nudam et undique sagittarum densitate confosam, corpusque excapitatum, in verba blasphemiæ erga martyrem tali modo prorupit: 'Nullus debet credere ipsum regem fuisse qui tali morte et tam ignominiosa occisus fuerat.' Hoc autem dicebat, quia Flandrenses exosum habent martyrem propter infortunium quod eis in Anglia, tempore Henrici secundi regis

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF
COVENTRY

(The original MS. is in the Library of Corp. C. College, Cambridge).

After the capture of Damietta by the Christians, the archbishops and bishops consecrated the Mahometan mosques, of which there was a number in the city, to be churches of the Saints, and at the instance of some English knights who were present two of these churches were dedicated in honour of two English martyrs, that is to say, Saint Edmund the king and martyr, and Saint Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, while a distinguished knight from England, named Richard de Argentyne, caused the martyrdom of S. Edmund to be represented by a wall-painting in the church dedicated to that Saint. Now it happened that one day, while the holy mass was being solemnised in presence of an immense throng of the Christians, a certain Fleming came into the church, and, turning his gaze to the picture of the blessed martyr's passion, noticed the naked similitude of his body, thickly stuck over with arrows, and the trunk deprived of its head. Then the Fleming broke out in blasphemous language against the martyr to the following effect: 'Nobody can believe that the man who died such an ignominious death as that was really a king.' The reason for his speaking thus was that the Flemings hold the martyr in detestation because of the disaster which overtook them in England during the reign of Henry II., king of England, within

Anglorum, infra licias ipsius evenit. Sed ejus temerariam et probrosam presumptionem Dei et martyris repentina subsecuta est ultio. Nam antequam de ecclesia ipsa egrederetur, lapis magnus, super caput ipsius cadens, ita illud attrivit, ut semivivus remaneret ibidem; unde crevit ibi timor et reverentia erga martyrem gloriosum.

CHURCH OF S. EDMUND AT DAMIETTA

(Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, vol. i. p. 376).

Dilecto cognato suo domino Ricardo de Insula priori S. Edmundi suus Ricardus de Argentin salutem quam sibi. Sciatis quod dominus noster S. Edmundus post captionem civitatis Damietae primus in ea fuit feodatus, nam post recessum comitis Cestriae fundavi ibi ecclesiam bene ornatam, et in ea, ad titulum S. Edmundi constituta, tres capellanos cum clericis suis pro servitio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi et S. Edmundi stabilivi. Et si S. Edmundus advocatus meus mihi vellet quantum vobis suffragari, in brevi melius erit in regno Babiloniae servitio famulantium honoratus, quam sit in Anglicana regione ab Anglicis obministratus. Vos autem pro certo scire volo miraculum quod post fundamentum ecclesiae praedictae et celebrationem divinorum in ea primitivam contigit, notorie et publice manifestum. Quidam serviens Flandrensis, de Flandria ortus, bajulans clavem in manu sua, ecclesiam subintrando imaginem S. Edmundi ex

the bounds (!) of the Saint's franchise. But the man's rash and shameful arrogance was followed by the sudden vengeance of God and the martyr; for before he could escape from the church a huge stone fell on his head, and so battered it that the wretch lay there for some time as much dead as alive, and so the glorious martyr was regarded in that place with increased fear and reverence.

CHURCH OF S. EDMUND AT DAMIETTA

Richard de Argentyne heartily greets his beloved kinsman Richard de Lisle, prior of S. Edmund's. You should know that after the capture of the city of Damietta, our Lord S. Edmund was the first to be installed there, for upon the withdrawal of the Earl of Chester, I founded in that place a church richly embellished, which was dedicated in honour of S. Edmund, and established therein three chaplains with attendant clerks for the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and of S. Edmund. And if S. Edmund, as my advocate, be pleased to exert himself on my behalf as well as he does for you, he will soon be honoured by the service of his ministers more highly in the realm of Babylon, than he is at home in England by the attention of Englishmen. But I should like you to have certain information of a miracle which took place in the church I have mentioned, after its foundation, and the inaugural performance there of divine service. It was a matter of open and public notoriety. A Flemish varlet, born in Flanders, carrying a key in his hand, made his way into the church and caught sight of the figure of S. Edmund which had been lately fashioned and

novo ad dispositionem meam sculptam et depictam prospexit, et verba contumeliosa eidem protulit, quoniam quosdam de gente sua, ut dixit, S. Edmundus aliquando interfecit, et sic versus sanctum litigio maximo et manifesto murmuravit. Qui, post opprobria S. Edmundo illata, volens de ecclesia semper rixando exire, accidit miraculose quod lignum quoddam supra ostium ab antiquo Saracenorum tempore constitutum dictæ ecclesiæ de alto corruens grave vulnus ruina sua in caput ipsius servientis infixit. Qui tum pro lesione maxima, tum pro sanguinis assidua effusione, nullatenus sine aliorum auxilio potuit de ecclesia exitum habere, nec ad hospitium proprium reverti. Scriptum Anno Domini 1220.

(Extract from Bodley, 240.)

painted by my orders, when he broke out into language insulting to the Saint, on the ground that, as he alleged, S. Edmund had on some occasion killed some of his nation ; and so he showed by loud open brawling his displeasure against S. Edmund. After this explosion of abuse, he wanted (still grumbling) to leave the church, but it happened by a miracle that a beam suspended over the doorway, as it was constructed in old times by the Saracens, fell from a height, and in its fall inflicted a severe wound upon the varlet's head. The injuries he received were so great, and the loss of blood was so unceasing, that he was quite unable to escape from the church and to return to his lodgings without assistance. Written in the year of our Lord 1220.

PART IV

(1) COINS OF EAST ANGLIAN KINGS BEFORE K. EDMUND



1, ETHELBERT. 2, EADWALD. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, ETHELSTAN
10, 11, ETHELWEARD

To face p. 634

(2) COINS OF KING EDMUND, AND SPECIMENS OF THE
MEMORIAL (SAINT EDMUND) COINAGE



1, 2, 3, 4, KING EDMUND. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SAINT EDMUND

N.B.—No. 9 carries the name of Alfred on the obverse, and Sc. Edmund on the reverse

To face p. 634

APPENDIX I

THOMAS DE ELMHAM

(*Rolls Series*, p. 221).

Nota quod iste primus adventus Danorum fuit per spatium centum et xvii. annorum ante martyrium sancti Edmundi regis Orientalium Anglorum; quo tempore venerunt Hyngwar et Hubba, qui, ut fertur, filii fuerunt cujusdam ursi, qui illos contra naturam de filia regis Daciæ generabat, quam sanctus Edmundus in uxorem duxisset. Sed idem Edmundus, ob eandem causam, Daciam transiens, cum illud horribile facinus, favore cujusdam cubicularii ejusdem dominæ, perpendisset, in camera noctu latitans sub cortinis infaustum contra naturam aspiciens ursinum cum fœmina coitum, extracto gladio ursi caput abscidit, et mox in Angliam rediit. Ob quam causam eadem mulier filiis adultis retulit Edmundum præactum patrem eorundem, quem illi hominem fuisse putaverant, occidisse. Et hæc fertur fuisse causa adventus illorum.

APPENDIX II

THE SUCCESSION OF THE KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA

Lists of the kings of East Anglia are to be found in Martyn's *Thetford* (where there is a collection of them from various sources); Blomefield's *Norfolk*; Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*; Lappenberg's *England under the Saxons*; Haigh's *East Anglian Coinage*, etc. None of them can be accepted with safety; some are palpably erroneous. In the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 172 (Wright and Halliwell), a catalogue is given (from MS. Cott. Tib., B. v., ascribed by the editors to about the year 990, but probably belonging to the early part of the eleventh century) in which the names run backwards from Alfwald (who died 749) through Wuffa to Frealaf, the father of Woden. It is as follows:—

'Item, Alfwald Aldwulfing, Ældwulf Æðelricing, Æpelric Ening, Eni Tytling, Tytla Wuffing, Wuffa Wehhing, Wehh Wilhelmung, Wilhelm Hrypping, Hryp Hroðmunding, Hroðmund Trigling, Trygil Tytmanning, Tytman Caseric, Caser Wodning, Woden Frealafingc.'

The *Historia Britonum* of Nennius (Jos. Stevenson, 1838) has the following:—

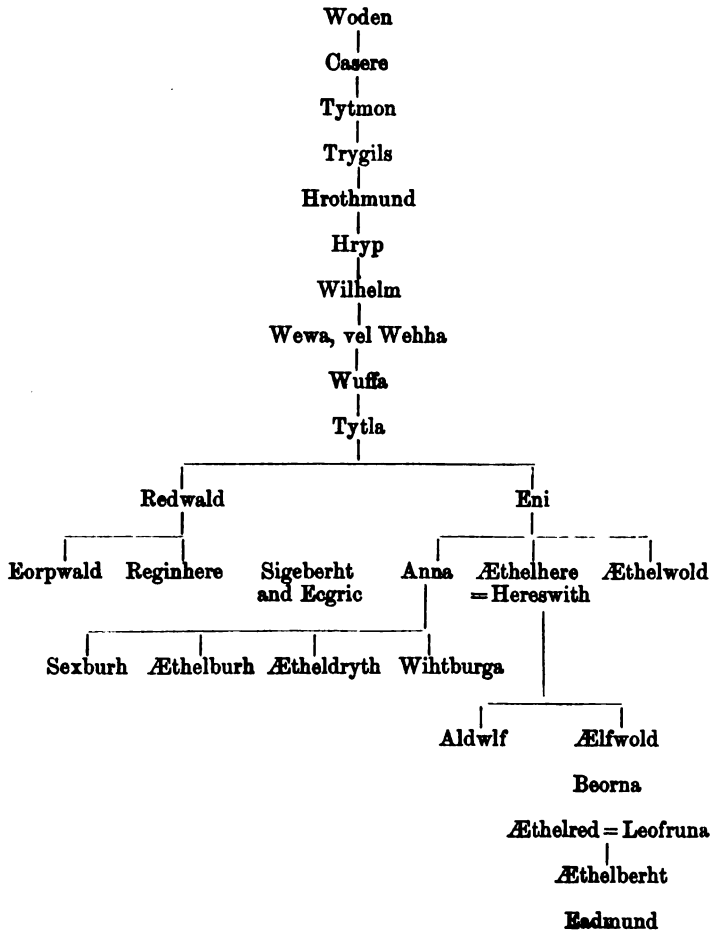
P. 51. *De Ortu Regum East Anglorum.*

Sect. 59. 'Woden genuit Casser, genuit Titinon, genuit Trigil, genuit Rodmunt, genuit Rippan, genuit Guillem Guechan; ipse primus regnavit in Britannia super gentem Estanglorum. Guecha genuit Guffan, genuit Tydil, genuit Ecní, genuit Edric, genuit Aldul, genuit Elric.'

The text of this passage, as given in Gale's *Scriptores*, xv. p. 116, varies in some particulars from Stevenson's text. Thus, in Gale, we find Rodnum and Kippan for Rodmunt and Rippan, and Guithelm, Guechan, apparently as two persons, instead of Guillem Guechan, presumably meant as one person. In both, however, Gueca is treated as the lineal ancestor of Guffa, but at p. 134 Gale gives the list as follows:—
'Wodenus—Trigilsus—Rothmundus—Hrippus—Wilhelmus—Uffa, sive Wffa, primus Rex Orientalium Anglorum—Titellus rex—Redwaldus rex—Eorpwaldus rex Wibertus—Earneta—Gesecg—Antsecg.'

Here, Wibertus seems to represent Sigebert. Earneta, Gesecg, and Antsecg are interlopers from the royal genealogy of Essex; at any rate, the names Seaxnete, Gesecg, Antsecg occur in the tables appended to Florence of Worcester in the Essex pedigree immediately after Woden. In MS. Cott. Tib., B. v., and in Nennius, we have a merely

genealogical record, traced from son to father or *vice versa*; this causes the list of kings to be imperfect. Florence gives a fuller list (ed. Thorpe vol i. p. 249) as understated :—



Richard of Cirencester (*Rolls Series*, vol. ii. p. 25) furnishes a list of East Anglian sovereigns much the same in effect as the list in Florence, except that under the name of Eanic, Eni appears as preceding Redwald on the throne, while Sigiberht is called Wybertus, and Beorna, more correctly, Beonna. Richard of Cirencester also states (vol. i. p. 262) that Beonna (here mentioned as Beorno) was issue of Alfwold (Alfwold) 'de sanguine ejus exortus'; and Beonna was father (*genuisse dicitur*) to Æthelred, who was the father by Leoveroma (Leofrum) of S. Æthelberht.

If these relationships may be accepted, then the direct line of the 'Uffingas,' instead of breaking off with Ælfwold (died 749), as suggested by Læppenberg, may be traced to S. Æthelberht (died 794) and probability seems to countenance the ascription of Aldulf as father to Ælfwold, since, if the last named was the son of Æthelhere, he must have survived his parent by ninety-four years. We thus obtain a regnal list as follows :—

1. Uffa, whether identical with Guecha or Wehh, or his son.
2. Tytil or Tytla, son to Uffa.
3. Redwald, the Bretwalda, son to Tytla, died 617, or not long after.
4. Eorpwald, son to Redwald, assassinated 628

(An interregnum of three years.)

5. Sigebert, stepson to Redwald, being the son, by a former husband, of Redwald's (?second) wife.
6. Egric, kinsman to Sigebert, and at first associated with Sigebert as joint-king; afterwards, on Sigebert's retiring to a monastery, sole king.

Both Sigebert and Egric were killed in war with Penda, king of the Mercians, in or about 635 (?at Bulcamp).

7. Anna, son to Redwald's brother Eni (635-654). He also was killed in battle against Penda at or near Blythburgh.
8. Æthelhere, brother to Anna, fought with Penda against Oswiu of Northumbria. Both Æthelhere and Penda were killed in the battle (655).
9. Æthelwold, brother to Æthelhere and Anna, reigned 655-664, when he abdicated in favour of

10. Aldulf, his nephew and son to Æthelhere. Aldulf died in 713, and was succeeded by
11. Ælfwold, his brother, or more probably his son, who reigned till 749. Ælfwold had correspondence with S. Boniface, and was followed by
12. Beonna, perhaps son to Ælfwold. He is said to have shared the kingdom with one Albert or Ethelbert. Such a division may have been facilitated by the establishment in Aldulf's reign of two bishoprics in East Anglia, one at Elmham in Norfolk in addition to one at Dunwich in Suffolk. There were similarly for some time two kings, as there were two bishoprics, in Kent. Beonna reigned according to some authorities till about 756, and was succeeded by (?his son)
13. Ethelred, married to Leofrum. He is supposed to have lived till about 790, when his son
14. S. Æthelbert came to the throne. He was murdered by Offa, king of the Mercians, in 794.

For the names of the princes who exercised or affected sovereign powers in East Anglia after 794, the reader is referred to Chapter II. of the Preface, in which the numismatic evidence is summarised. For the seventh, and early part of the eighth, century Bede is the chief authority.

APPENDIX III

FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIONS OF SAINTLY PERSONS CONNECTED
WITH EAST ANGLIA, AND SOME OTHERS, COMPILED FROM
CHALLONER'S 'MEMORIALS OF BRITISH PIETY,' THE 'SANCTORALE
CATHOLICUM,' AND FATHER STANTON'S 'MENOLOGY,' ETC.

- January . 10. S. Sethryda, step-daughter (?) to King Anna of East Anglia.
16. S. Fursey, Hermit at Burgh Castle.
„ Dicullus, or Deicola, companion to S. Fursey.
25. S. Sigebert, King of East Anglia.
- February 20. S. Ercongota, daughter to S. Sexburh, Queen of Kent, and granddaughter to Anna.
23. S. Jurmin, (?) son to Anna, King of East Anglia (*Menology*.)
- March . 8. S. Felix of Burgundy, first Bishop of Dunwich.
25. S. Robert of Bury, a boy martyred by Jews.
„ S. William of Norwich, a boy martyred by Jews.
28. Translation of S. Fremund, at Dorchester. (*Sanctorale*.)
- April . 11. S. Ethelburga, daughter to King Anna.
„ S. Edburga, daughter to Aldulf, King of East Anglia.
29. Translation of S. Edmund to Baldwin's Church, A.D. 1095.
- May . 11. S. Fremund, nephew to S. Edmund (?).
15. S. Edith of Polesworth, daughter to King Egbert.
20. S. Ethelbert, King of East Anglia.
„ S. Althryda, daughter to Offa, King of Mercia, sought in marriage by S. Ethelbert.

- May . . 21. S. Godrick.
 28. S. Sethryda (at Brie). See January 10.
 30. S. Walstan, at Baber. (Bawburgh.)
 31. S. Botolph, Bishop (?).
 „ S. Jurmin. (Challoner.)
- June . . 9. Representation of S. Edmund. Translation by Abbot
 Leofstan (1044-1065).
 17. S. Botulph, Abbot (?). (*York Calendar*.)
 „ S. Adulph, brother to S. Botulph.
 23. S. Etheldreda of Ely, daughter to King Anna.
 25. S. Adalbert, Confessor and Deacon, companion of S.
 Willibrord and grandson (reputed) to Oswald of
 Northumbria, as being son of Æthelwald, King of
 Deira.
- July . . 5. S. Modwenna of Polesworth and Burton (?), in reign of
 Ethelwolf.
 6. S. Sexburga, daughter to King Anna, and Queen of
 Kent.
 7. S. Ercongota. See February 20.
 „ S. Ethelburga (deposition).
 8. S. Withburga, daughter to King Anna.
 12. S. Ethelburga (commemoration).
 15. S. Edith of Tamworth or Polesworth, (?) daughter to
 Edward the Elder.
 19. S. Withburga, at Dereham, daughter to King Anna.
 31. S. Neot (according to one legend or conjecture identical
 with Athelstan, King of Kent, son to King Egbert).
- August . 12. S. Edwold, brother to S. Edmund. (*Menology*.)
- September 9. S. Modwenna, at Burton. (*Sanctorale*.)
 12. King Anna, d. 654, King of East Anglia. (*Menology*.)
 16. S. Edith of Wilton, natural daughter to King Edgar.
 „ S. Edith of Polesworth, sister to King Edgar (com-
 memoration).
 26. S. Sigebert, King of East Anglia. (Challoner.)

- October . 7. S. Osith of Chich, (?) martyred by the Danes under Inguar and Hubba.
 10. S. Paulinus.
 11. The Minster of S. Edmund, i.e. completion of Cnut's Abbey Church, 1032.
 17. Translation of SS. Sexburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga.
 31. S. Foilan.
- November 7. S. Willibrord (otherwise Clement), missionary, accompanied by S. Adalbert.
 20. S. Edmund, King and Martyr.
 „ Bishop Humbert.
 28. S. Edwold, brother to S. Edmund. (Challoner.) See August 12.
- December 9. S. Anna, King of East Anglia. (Challoner.)
 25. S. Alburga of Wilton, sister to Egbert.

Besides those above mentioned, we find a S. Wendreda, Patroness of the Church at March, Cambs., and S. Reginhere, nephew to S. Edmund, at Northampton. S. Reginhere is supposed to have been killed by the Danes, *circ.* 870 A.D. See *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, vol. ii. (Oxf. 1901). There is also notice (*Menology*, p. 161) of Suniman, a holy man of Bennet Hulme in Norfolk, who also was killed by the Danes, *circ.* 870 A.D.

APPENDIX IV

FROM THE 'DRACO NORMANNICUS'

BY ÉTIENNE DE ROUEN.

*Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.**Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 613, ed. Howlett.*

De situ Daciæ, et de Lobroco rege ejusdem provinciæ, cujus filii Hinguar et Huga (sic) Angliam cum intraverint (et) vastaverint, regem Edmundum peremerint, etc.

Rex fuit hic magnus Lobrocos, tempore cujus
Advenit Hastingus, sic simul ipse Bier.
Lobroci natus fuit hic. Hos Dacia misit.
Paulo post socios Rollo secutus adest.
Hingar et Huba simul Lobroci regia proles,
Viribus audaces, sunt probitate pares.
Funus post patrium rex Hingar, fratre favente,
Arripit arma, rates instruit; unda favet.
Danorum primi gentes alias spoliarent,
Exemplar sociis in feritate pari.
Appulit hæc classis Edmundi regis ad urbes,
Has vincit, spoliat, vi, feritate, manu.
Rex igitur regi mandat, nil tale verenti,
Ut tria perficiat vel sibi bella sciat.
Thesaurus tribuat, diis libet, sceptrum sub ipso
Amodo detineat, sicque redibit ovans.
Hinc (? hunc) lento sequitur gressu subcenturiatus,
Æstimat id, velut est, quod vetet ille tria.

Audit et incautum circumvenit ; undique septus
Clauditur, hinc capitur, silva retentat eum.
Cæditur ille, caput capiti, Christo sociandus,
Martyris obsequiis hic celebrandus erat.
Hostis discedit. Regem dum turba requirit,
Invenit hic corpus, nec videt illa caput.
Longius in dumis illud projecerat hostis,
Nescius abscissum corpore posse loqui.
Flet, gemit, inquirens circumspicit, omnia lustrat,
'Her' proprio ritu regia lingua sonat.
Curritur ad vocem notam, caput hic reperitur,
Gaudet hic invento, condolet ille neci—
Pars sociæ parti sociatur, sic sepelitur,
Thesaurus latet hic, nil ibi vermis habet.
Tempore condigno transfertur, et integer extat,
Incorrupta caro undique clamat eum.

APPENDIX V

Leland, Collectanea, ed. Hearn, 1744, vol. i.

P. 211. Edmundus rex Estanglorum apud Byri coronatus.

P. 212. Kenulphus¹ rex Westsax (? Mercior) ab Orient: Anglis interfectus est, eo quod regnum Orient: Anglorum ut suam a tempore Offæ regis invadere et sibi vindicare tentavit.

P. 212. Post Bernulphum in regno Mercie successit Ludecanus cui successit Milefridus constructor Herefordensis ecclesie cui successit Wiglaphus.

P. 212. Tunbertus, Australium Girviorum princeps, primus S. Etheldridæ maritus. Egfridus autem rex Northumbr.: secundus erat.

P. 213. Edburga abbatissa, Aldulphi alias Erdulphi regis Northumbr.² filia, misit Guthlaco heremite sarcophagum.

Leofstanus filius Wolgari, vir potentie mag: aperuit sepulchrum D. Edmundi, et corpus ejus tetigit.

Hublow tumulus Hubbæ in Devonias.

P. 219. Eglestoun, alias Hoxtown.
Corpus S. Edmundi de London translatum Bederichworth.

P. 220. *Ex libello de vita S. Edmundi regis Estanglorum, et origine ac rebus gestis monasterii Sancti Edmundi.*

S. Alcmundus rex Saxonie et (? ex) Siuara genuit S. Edwoldum confessorem et anachoritam, cujus ossa sepulta sunt in monasterio de Cerne.

¹ Apparently a mistake for Bernulphus.

² This seems to be a mistake for Estanglorum.

Idem secundo genuerunt Edmundum, qui anno Di 841 natus est apud Norembregis in Saxonia, et postea orientalibus Angliis præfuit.

Idem tertio genuerunt Elbertum, qui in Cormin civitate Holandiæ transmarinæ in quodam cænobio monach : Benedict : sepultus est.

Offa rex Anglorum carens hærede per Saxoniam terram sanctam petiit, ubi Edmundum secundo genitum Alcmundi regis in hæredem sibi elegit.

Offa rex inter redeundum ab Hiserosoly : in loco, qui brachium S. Georgii dicitur, oblit transmissio ad Edmundum annulo suo.

Edmundus accersitus applicuit in Hunstantane portu Angliæ.

Edmundus per annum integrum mansit apud Attilburgh Civitatem antiquam.

Deinde ductus est in Southfolciam, et in villa de Bury¹ ab Humberto Elmanensi episcopo in regem coronatus est anno ætatis suæ 15 completo, Anno D. 856.

Inguar et Hubba pagani a patre Lothbrigo rege Danorum animati in pernitiam Edmundi regis.

Lothbricus rex tempestate jactatus applicuit invitus in Redeham villa Northfolciæ, qui postea in aucupio familiaris factus Edmundo a quodam regis Edmundi aucupe Bern Bocarde interfectus est.

Berne in vindictam ab Edmundo eidem naviculæ qua venerat in Angl. Lothbroc commissus est, a quo didicerunt Lothbroc jussu Edmundi crudeliter fuisse interfectum.

Berno duce anno D. 865 (et reg. Edmundi 10^o), venerunt Inguar et Ubba, comitantibus etiam regibus paganis Halfden, Oskitel, Bagsæg, Hasten, Eovils, Hamund, et Guthrun, cum 20 mil. armatorum in Angliam ad portum Twedæ, etc.

Tandem post multas deprædationes ad Orientales Anglos pervenerunt, ubi de exercitu S. Edmundi et comprovincialibus raptis equis facti sunt equestres. Multi tamen ex Danis palantibus ab exercitu Edmundi interfecti sunt.

Narrat vulgus Danos obsidentes quoddam castrum Edmundi in quo Angli fame laborabant, elusos fuisse inditio tauri, quem Angli, aperta porta, ad hostes ire permiserunt ; quo exenterato et cognito quod frumento pasto esset, solverunt obsidionem.

Sed abeuntes a tergo insecutus est Edmundus, et non paucos ex eis interfecit.

Bury, ut ego arbitror, Sudbyri, vel villa paulo inferius, qua rivus defluit.

Edmundus alio, ut refert vulgus, tempore a Danis in sylva circumdatus, beneficio vadi, quod modo Berneford dicitur, evasit.

Refert et hoc vulgus, quod Dani, desperantes se posse capere quoddam forte castrum Edmundi, a quodam sene Sathonio edocti ubi murus infirmus esset irruperunt in castrum, quo tempore Edmundus eques porta erupit, et rogatus a Danis ubi rex esset, hoc responso Danos elusit: 'quo ego tempore in castro fui, adfuit ibi Edmundus.' Deinde Dani eum disquirentes ab exercitu Edmundi non sine clade intercepti sunt.

Ex chronicis Ely. monaster.

Sexto anno adventus Danorum hoc et 15 (8) regi Edmundi, repetunt Estangliam flammis destruentes monasteria de Cruland, Burgo Petri, Remesey, Seham et Ely.

Waregforth.

Cum max: partes ab occidentali ad aquilonem depopulando peragrassent, relicto Ubba ad sarcinas cum spoliis innocentum, Inguar cum multitudine armatorum ad Estangliam perveniens apud quandam civitatem Sancti Edmundi Thetfordiam nomine castra metatus est.

Abbo Floriacensis.

Quam latenter ingrediens ignibus cremandam dedit, pueros, senes cum junioribus obviam factos jugulat, et matronalem, seu virginalem, pudicitiam ludibrio tradendam mandat.

Chronicon Westmonaster.

Audiens autem quod rex eorum apud Eglesdune eo tempore moram faceret, misit ad eum ut idolis sacrificaret, et thesauros sub se regnaturus divideret. Quo audito, Sanctus Edmundus cum exercitu processit, et cum hostibus non longe a Thetford confligit gravi praelio a mane usque ad vesperam, dirimente se utroque exercitu. Tunc Edmundus pertæsus tanti sanguinis effusi, cum reliquiis exercitus Eglesdune repetit.

Inguar igitur cum de strage anxietur, supervenit Ubba ad Thetford cum decem armatorum millibus, et sic junctis viribus ad Eglesdune

venientes Sanctum Edmundum martyrizaverunt anno D. 870, anno ætatis suæ 29, et reg : 15^o duodecimo Cal : Decembr.

Sepultus fuit in loco quo occubuit, et jacuit ibidem 33 annis.

Tunc multis per eum factis miraculis, multitudo populi, non solum vulgi, sed nobilium, construxit in villa de Bedricesworth permax : ligneo tabulatu basilicam, ad quam corpus Edmundi incorruptum translatum est per clerum et pontificem.

GLOSSARY TO LA VIE SEINT EDMUND LE REY

A

- Aate, *agile*; here, *bright, cheerful*.
 Abaisier, abaiser, *to lower, to abase*.
 Abbe, *abe, abbot*.
 Abit=about, *confine, quarter, boundary*.
 Acerter, *to establish oneself*.
 Aces, *a slant of sailing, a board*.
 Accoilir, *to receive, meet*.
 Acost, *a company*.
 Acoster, acostier, *to coast along*.
 Acue, *sharp, sharpened*.
 Acun, *some one, any one*.
 Acurir, *to run up*.
 Acuter, s'acuter, *to rest oneself*.
 Ades, *immediately, forthwith*.
 Adeser, *to touch, to approach*.
 Ados, *shelter, defence*.
 Adrescier, *to raise, to put in order*.
 Aerdre, *refuge*.
 Afaitement, *in fact*.
 Afeitier, *to prepare, to fashion*.
 Affier, afier, *to certify, to assure, to trust*.
 Agard, *regard, respect*.
 Agarder, *to look at*.
 Agrel, *pleasure, satisfaction*.
 Aguait, aguet, *ambush, hiding or watching-place*.
 Aguisser, aguiser, *to sharpen*; here, *to gnash*.
 Aguwe, *help, aid*.
 Agu, *sharp, piercing*.
 Ahan, *trouble, effort*.
 Aidier, *pres. subj. ayt*; *to help*.
 Aie, *help*.
 Aigniel, *a lamb*.
 Ainoes, anceis, aincois, encois, *before*.
 Ainne, *eldest born*.
 Ainz, synz, einz, *before, but, rather*.
 Ajuster, *to range, to assemble*.
 Alaier, *to suck*.
 Alarun, *the cry of 'Thieves,' alarm*.
 Alascher, *to slacken*.
 Alcun, alcune, *some*.
 Aler (aller), *pres. veit, vunt*; *pret. ala, alames*; *fut. irray, ura, irrez*; *pres. sub. alge, algent*; *pret. sub. alast*; *p.p. alee*.
 Aleure, alure, *pace, course*.
 Alever, *to exalt*.
 Alier, *to lay down*.
 Aliurs, *elsewhere*.
 Alme, *soul*.
 Almonere, *purse*.
 Almoynes, *alms*.
 Alonguir, *to dally*.
 Alques, *somewhat*.
 Alumer, *to give sight to*.
 Amananter, *to enrich*.
 Ambe, *both*.
 Ambedui, amedeus, an-deus, *both the two*.

Ameiner, *to bring*.
 Amenter, *to remind*.
 Amer, *to love*.
 Amiste, *friendship*.
 Amparz, *on both sides*.
 Amunt, *above, upward*.
 Amunter, *to uplift*.
 An, en, on.
 Anaientir, aneintir, *to annihilate*.
 Ancele, *female servant*.
 Anel, *a ring*.
 Anelet, *a chain (?)*.
 Anguisus, *anxious*.
 Aparaillement, *preparation*.
 Aparer, *to appear*.
 Apendre, *to belong*.
 Apentis, *appurtenances*.
 Apert, *openly, publicly*.
 Aponer, *to lay by*.
 Aport, *treasure, offering*.
 Apostoile, *the pope*.
 Aprester, *to prepare*.
 Aproicier, aprochier, *to approach*.
 Apuier, *to lean*.
 Aquaiser, *to calm down*.
 Aquate, *acquainted*.
 Aramier, *to engage, enlist*.
 Ardeir, *to burn*.
 Areinier, *to arrange*.
 Ariere, *back*.
 Artere, *artery*.
 Artilus, stilus, *adroit*.
 Arveire, *illusion, fiction*.
 As, an ace.
 Asazer, *to sate, to provide plentifully*.
 Ascer, *steel*.
 Aseurer, asurer, *to secure, to wait*.
 Asire, *to settle*.
 Asne, *ass*.
 Aspre, *rough*.
 Aspresce, *suffering*.

Atant, *forthwith, thus, so far, then*.
 Ateindre, *to overtake*.
 Atemptrent, *see Ateindre*.
 Atrait, *to draw to, to invite*.
 Atturmer, aturmer, *to arrange, to fit up*.
 Aultri, *another man's*.
 Auner, aduner, *to come together*.
 Aurner, *to adorn*.
 Autresi, altres, *also*.
 Aval, *below, downward*.
 Avaler, *to lower*.
 Avenant, *imposing*.
 A ver, avoir, *to have*; *pres. ind. ay and ai, ad, avum, avez and aez, ount, unt; imp. aveit, aveient; pret. ind. out, ot, hout, oremt; fut. avera, avertes, averunt; condit. averait; pres. subj. ait, aiez; pret. subj. use, ust, oust, oustes; p. part. eu. Compounds with ne, nad, nunt, nout, nust; see Ne.*
 Averser, *gen. aversiere, acc. pl. aversiers, adversary*.

B

Bachelur, *bachelor*.
 Bailer, bayler, *to bring, to hand over*.
 Bailie, baylie, *jurisdiction*.
 Bald, *bold, joyous*.
 Balier, *to brandish*.
 Ban, *summons*.
 Bandun, *summons; a bandun, readily, promptly*.
 Banir, *to proclaim, to summon*.
 Baratte, *trouble*.
 Barne, *the baronage*.
 Batestal, *uproar*.

- Bateure, *blow*.
 Beals, bealz, *voc.*, beal, *ben*, *beautiful*.
 Bealte, *beauty*.
 Belbelet, beaubelet, *jewel, bauble*.
 Beleisur, belisor, *more beautiful*.
 Beneir, beneistre; *pret.* benesquis;
 = *bénir*.
 Benefice, *beneficent*.
 Benesciun, *blessing*.
 Ber, *baron*.
 Berbiz, *sheep*.
 Besque, *a spade*.
 Beyvre, *to drink*.
 Blecher, *to harm*.
 Blesceure, *wound*.
 Blesmer, blasmier, *to injure*.
 Bleste, *a clod*.
 Boelin, *an English word; bowline*.
 Bort, *deck*.
 Bos, *see Bou*.
 Bosoyne, *need*.
 Bou, *ring, bracelet*.
 Bouter, *to push out*.
 Braun, *brown (English)*.
 Brestache, *parapet*.
 Broil, *thicket*.
 Broine, *breastplate*.
 Buisun, buissun, *bush*.
 Bun (bon), *good*.
 Burder, *to tilt*.
 Burdun, *staff*.
 Busine, *trumpet*.
 Buter, *to shove out*.
 Buteilier, *butler*.
- C
- Case, *shrine*.
 Cea, *this, this way, here*.
 Ceanariere, *heretofore*.
- Coisant, ceissant, cessant, *sixty*.
 Celeement, *stealthily*.
 Cendir, *se cendir, to ascend*.
 Cenx = cent.
 Cesti = ce, oet, celui-ci.
 Chair, chaier, cheier, choier; *pret.*
 chai, chey; *to fall*.
 Chaland, *a ship of burden*.
 Chaleir, *to be anxious*.
 Chalus, *anxious*.
 Chapleiz, *shock, conflict*.
 Char, chare = chair.
 Chariere, *carriage*.
 Charoyne, *carriage*.
 Chase, *a shrine*.
 Cheitif, cheytif, cheitive, *wretch,*
 wretched.
 Chevage, *poll-tax*.
 Chevetayne, chevetyn, *chieftain*.
 Cheygne = chêne.
 Chies, *pl. of chief, chief*.
 Chiet, *see Chair*.
 Chol, *cabbage; foile de chol, a*
 cabbage leaf.
 Cimiter = cimetière.
 Cist, icist, *this one*.
 Cit, cizt = cité.
 Citeein, citein = citoyen.
 Clare, *claret*.
 Clore, *pret. clot, to close*.
 Clos, *enclosure*.
 Coart, *coward*.
 Coisement, *quietly, cautiously*.
 Coint, *acquainted with*.
 Coke = coq.
 Colpe, coupe, cop, ool, *blow, cut*.
 Colper, couper, coper, euper, culper,
 to cut off, to strike.
 Colvert, *vile, a villain*.
 Comander, *pres. comant; to com-*
 mand.

- Conrei, cunrei, cunrie, *equipment, array.*
 Conteint, *see* Contenir.
 Contemple, *time, period.*
 Contenement, *behaviour.*
 Contenir, *se, to behave.*
 Contraire, *to control.*
 Contrels, *against them.*
 Contrez, *contracted, deformed.*
 Coraile, *gut ; la mestre coraile, the principal gut.*
 Corir, *to run.*
 Corne, *a horn.*
 Corner, *to sound the horn.*
 Corseint, *holy body.*
 Cortil, *poultry yard.*
 Corusce, *angry.*
 Coruscer, coruscier, *to be angry.*
 Corusseiz, *see* Croissier.
 Costere, costiere, *coast.*
 Cou, *cook.*
 Courtur = courtisan.
 Coustre, *to sew.*
 Covint = convint.
 Cravanter, *to strike down.*
 Creire = croire.
 Cremer, oriemer, *to fear.*
 Creux, *see* Croistre.
 Crever, crieuer, *to rise.*
 Crieme, *fear.*
 Criement, *see* Cremer.
 Croice, croyos = croix.
 Croissier, croissir, oorussier, *to break, crush.*
 Croistre ; *pret. crurent ; p.p. creux = croître.*
 Croler = crouler.
 Cruciemment, *torture.*
 Crussir, grincer les dents.
 Cuart, *coward.*
 Culpe, *guilt.*
 Culvert, *see* Colvert.
 Cum = comme.
 Cumpenser, *to harmonise.*
 Cunge = congé.
 Cungier, *to get leave.*
 Cunrei, *see* Conrei.
 Cunriez, *see* Conrei.
 Cunte, *county, county court.*
 Cuntre, *to meet.*
 Cuntremunt, contremont, *upward.*
 Cuper, *see* Colper.
 Curte = cour.
 Cyngnes = cygnes.
- D
- Dambes, *see* Ambe.
 Dampne, *the lord.*
 Darein, dareyn = dernier.
 Dechiet, *see* Dechoir.
 Dechoir, *to fall down, to die.*
 Decoler = décoller.
 Decoleur, *headsman.*
 Deduit, dedut, *delight.*
 Defouir, *to bury.*
 Defrayner, *to open, to free from restraint.*
 Defreier, *se, to trouble oneself.*
 Defrunt, *see* Frant.
 Deglagier, *to strike down.*
 Deguerpir, *to quit, to forsake.*
 Dei, *finger.*
 Deis, *table.*
 Deist, *see* Dir.
 Dekes, deske, desque, jesque, *up to, as far as.*
 Delee, deleez, *close to.*
 Delivre, *a delivre, in great quantity.*
 Deltut, *altogether.*
 Deluc, *forthwith.*

Demeine, demeyne, demayne, demene, *same, own, very.*
 Demener, *to show, exhibit, treat.*
 Denter, *see* Enter.
 Derechief = derechef.
 Dereier, *to disband themselves.*
 Dereyner, *to decide solemnly.*
 Desaancker, *to weigh anchor.*
 Desoloe, *to open by taking out nails.*
 Descurgiez, *see* Escurgie.
 Desevelir, *to disinter.*
 Desevrer, *to separate.*
 Desfaire, *calamity.*
 Deshaneker, *to cast loose.*
 Deslie = délié.
 Desmesure, a desmesure, *exceedingly.*
 Despendre, *to dispense.*
 Despenser, *steward.*
 Despiat = dépit.
 Desray, desrei, par desrei, *hurriedly.*
 Deaireier, *to break the ranks.*
 Desreianier, *to argue out.*
 Desrenger = déranger.
 Destendre = distendre.
 Destrencher, *to slay, to massacre.*
 Destrer, destrier, *a war-horse.*
 Destresse = détresse.
 Detrenohier, *to slash.*
 Detries, *behind.*
 Deus = deux.
 Deve, devez, *mad.*
 Deviser, *to divide, to bound.*
 Devoir, *pres. deit, deivent, pret. dust; pres. subj. deyve; pret. subj. dent.*
 Dir, *pret. dist, distrent, imp. di; pres. subj. die; fut. dirral, dirrum; pret. sub. deist, to say.*

Diaone = diaore.
 Dis, *word, or ten.*
 Doel, *grief.*
 Doint, *see* Doner.
 Doluser, *to mourn.*
 Doner = donner.
 Dos, en dos, *in two.*
 Doter, douter, duter, *to fear.*
 Dount = dont.
 Doygne, doyne, *see* Doner.
 Doynd, *see* Doner.
 Dras = draps.
 Dreiturels, *righteous.*
 Dreiturur, *upright, just.*
 Dromunt, *a cruiser.*
 Dru, drue, *a beloved one.*
 Duire, *to handle.*
 Duitre, *see* Dutre.
 Duiz, *skilled.*
 Dutre, duitre, *leader.*

E

E, *in.*
 Eginner, enginner, enginer, *to deceive.*
 Egrement, *eagerly.*
 Eir, *see* Heir.
 Eire, eyre, ere, *way.*
 Eire, de bon eire = débonnaire.
 Eirer, *to travel.*
 Eissir, *pres. ist; pret. issit; p.p. eiseu, issu, eissuz, to go out, to issue.*
 Eloquent, eluec, eluc, iluec, iluc, *ilukes, then, there.*
 Els = eux.
 Embler, *to steal.*
 Embler, sen embler, *to go away.*
 Enancer, *to anchor.*
 Enangler, *to enclose.*

- Enberser, *to set thickly.*
 Enbouchez, *pointed at the enemy.*
 Enbrunher, Enbrancher, *se, to stoop, to shrug oneself together.*
 Enbruns, *gloomy, downcast.*
 Encheir, *to fall into.*
 Enclin, enclyn, *obedient, turned towards.*
 Encumbrier, encumbrez, encombrier, *difficulty, damage.*
 Endreit, *with regard to, compared to; oea endreit, in this direction.*
 Entantosmer, *to bewitch.*
 Enfle, *swollen.*
 Enfraite, *a law breaker.*
 Enfrez, *a criminal.*
 Enfunderer, *to smash.*
 Engendrure, *birth.*
 Engreine, *weight of pain or sickness (?)*
 Engres, *perverse.*
 Enhalcer, enhalcier, enhancer, enhaucier, *to exalt, to lift up.*
 Enoyndre, *to anoint.*
 Enpenne, *feathered.*
 Enpres, *close to.*
 Enquerre, *fut. enquerrei, pp. enquis, to ask.*
 Ens, enz, *within.*
 Ensegne, *docile, a mark.*
 Enseivirent, *see Ensivre.*
 Ensement, *together.*
 Enserrer, *to make fast.*
 Ensivre, ensiwre, *to follow.*
 Ensuwi, *see Ensivre.*
 Enter, *entire.*
 Entere = enterré.
 Enterin, enterina, enteryns, *entire, absolute.*
 Entrels = entre eux.
- Entreset, *immediately.*
 Entresque, *up to, until.*
 Entur, *around.*
 Enturner, *se, to turn, to repair.*
 Enveier = envoyer.
 Enveiser, *to amuse oneself.*
 Ereer, *see Error.*
 Erer, *to cultivate.*
 Errantment, erraument, *quickly.*
 Error, ereer, *to proceed, to be busy, to cruise.*
 Esbair, *se = s'ébahir.*
 Esbaudir, *se, to take courage.*
 Esbueler, *to rip up.*
 Escoervelez, *brained.*
 Escharir, *to engage.*
 Escheese, *les = les échecs.*
 Eschet, *booty.*
 Escheviz, *slender.*
 Esolate, *lineage.*
 Esolerzier, *to shine.*
 Escole = école.
 Escorohier = écorcher.
 Escovenance, *compact, agreement.*
 Escrever, *to burst forth.*
 Escu, *shield.*
 Esculter = écouter.
 Escurgie, *a scourge.*
 Esuarder, *to gaze at.*
 Esalcier, *to exalt, to uphold.*
 Esmaier, *to be dismayed.*
 Esmerer, *to purify.*
 Esmoluz, *ground.*
 Eneke, *a light swift vessel.*
 Esparnier = épargner.
 Espeisse, *thicket.*
 Espeneir, *to expiate.*
 Espermenter = expérimenter.
 Espes, espesse = épais.
 Espinel, *a spinney.*

Espleit, a espleit, *speedily*.
 Esponter=épouvanter.
 Espourer, *to frighten*.
 Esquaisier, *to banish*.
 Esquier=écuyer.
 Essimes, *see* Eissir.
 Essoyne, *excuse for non-appearance*.
 Estable=stable.
 Estal, *post, position*.
 Esteler, *to break up into portions*.
 Estendre=étendre.
 Estocher, estoquier, *to break, to collide with*.
 Estoet, *see* Estovoir.
 Estoire, *armament*.
 Estorer, *to construct*.
 Estorie, estoire=histoire.
 Estovoir, *to behave, to be proper*.
 Estre, *a being*.
 Estre, ester; *pres. su, sumes, estes, sunt; imp. esteit, ert, esteient, erent; pret. fui, fu-fut-fust, fumes, fustes, fur; fut. serra-ert, serrum; pres. subj. seit, susum, seiez, seient; condit. estareit, serreit; pres. part. estant; p.p. este-estais, estays-atais; to be, to stand, to be settled*.
 Estreit=étroit.
 Estremer, *to haul out*.
 Estrey, estrei, estreit, *a narrow way or place*.
 Estroer, estroyr, *to pierce*.
 Estrus, *resolute; a estrus, resolutely*.
 Estuet, *see* Estovoir.
 Estui, *see* Estovoir.
 Estur, *food, store*.
 Esturte, *to escape*.

Esveiller, *to watch*.
 Euwe, *see* Ewe.
 Eveschie=évêché.
 Ewe, euwe, *water*.
 Eyr, *see* Heir.
 Eyre, *see* Heir.

F

Faceun=façon.
 Fais, *heap, burden*.
 Falde, *see* Faude.
 Falsar, *to deceive*.
 Farain, *a wild beast*.
 Faude, *fold*.
 Feeil, *lieges*.
 Feire=faire; *pres. feisum, funt; impf. fesei, feseient; pret. fist, feismes; fut. ferum; condit. ferey; pret. sub. feist; imper. fetes; p.p. fait, faiz*.
 Feisance, fesance, *deed*.
 Feiterement, *in such a manner*.
 Feiture, *construction*.
 Feiz, *see* Fex.
 Fel=fiel.
 Fere=fière.
 Ferir, *to strike*.
 Fermete, *a fortress*.
 Fertre, *shrine*.
 Fes, *see* Fais.
 Feyntise, *feigning*.
 Feytement, *in such a manner*.
 Fez=fois.
 Fi, *sure; de fi, certainly*.
 Fierge, *a chain*.
 Fiert, *see* Ferir.
 Fin, *end; de fin, surely; de grant fin, most surely*.
 Flu, *sief*.
 Flaelier, *to scourge*.

Flairur, flairurs, *the scent*.
 Foer, *price*.
 Folur = folie.
 Foroonseeller, *to give wrong counsel*.
 Forment, *strongly, loudly*.
 Forsene, *demented*.
 Founz, funz = fond.
 Fraindre, *to break*.
 Frarin, *ruffian*.
 Fremier = frémir.
 Fruncer, *to frown*.
 Frunt, de frunt, *in front, altogether*.
 Frussier, *a destroyer*.
 Fuant, *see* Fuer.
 Fuer = fuir.
 Fuisun = foison.
 Fuiz, *see* Fuer.
 Funder = fonder.
 Funz = fonta.
 Fur, *see* Estre.
 Furmeresce, *creatress*.
 Furmeur, *creator*.
 Fust, fut, *wood, a post or trunk*.
 Fusunable, *plenteous*.

G

Gaber, *to jest, to deride*.
 Gardain, gardein = gardien.
 Gareysun, garisun = guérison.
 Gaste, *waste*.
 Gastine, *waste, desert*.
 Gaveloc, gaveloke, *javelin*.
 Gaygner, gaynier = gagner.
 Gaygnour, gayneur, *wage-earner*.
 Gayneries, *farms; means of gaining*.
 Geambes = jambes.
 Gehir, *to confess*.

Gelin, *a hue*.
 Genuillun, genulium, genullian, *knee*.
 Gesir, gisir; *pret. jut, just: p.p. giu, to lie*.
 Geu, *see* Gesir.
 Geuner = jéuner.
 Geuwer = jouer.
 Gist, *see* Gesir.
 Giu, *see* Gesir.
 Gopil, gopilz, *fox*.
 Graveir, *sand, beach*.
 Greindre, grendre, *greater*.
 Greinur, *see* Greindre.
 Griet, *see* Griger.
 Griffain, *terrible*.
 Griger, gregier, *to be painful*.
 Groin, *muzzle, snout*.
 Gruindre = gronder.
 Guaires = guères.
 Guandir, *to escape*.
 Guarisun, gareysun, *food, healing, protection*.
 Guarnir, *to protect*.
 Guyer = guider.

H

Haanz, *a form of ahan; effort*.
 Hachie, *distress*.
 Hainus = haineux.
 Hair, *to hate*.
 Hair, *force, impetuosity*.
 Haitee, *content*.
 Haiz, *see* Hair.
 Halegre, *cheerful*.
 Haler, *to haul*.
 Halt = haut.
 Halteyn, *loud*.
 Hardre = hardi.
 Harpun, *a crook*.

Hart or hard, *a cord*; *mis a la hart*,
hanged.

Hault = haut.

He, hee, *hate*.

Heiaient, *see Hair*.

Heir = héritier.

Heit, *see Hair*.

Herbergier, *herberger, to harbour*.

Herioer = hériasser.

Hericiun, *heritun, hedgehog, a pointed stake*.

Herneys = harnais.

Het, *kindness, welcome*.

Heyent, *see Hair*.

Holgurdins, *haulyards*.

Hosteler, *to lodge*.

Hoster = ôter.

Hout, *see Auer*.

Hucher, *huchier, to shout*.

Hue = huée.

Hune, *the top*.

Hunte = honte.

I

Icel = oel, *celui-ci*.

Icels, ices = ces, *ceux, ceux-ci*.

Icest = ce, *cet; this*.

Icist, *see Cist*.

Ignelement, *ignielement, isnelement, promptly*.

Ioe, jowe = joue.

Ires, irez, *angry*.

Irrement, *angrily*.

Irrie, *angry*.

Issi, *thus*.

J

Ja, *now, never*.

James, *ever, never*.

Joefne = jeune.

Joir = réjouir.

Jowe = joue.

Juvent, *youth*.

Just, *see Gesir*.

Juste, *de juste li; close beside her*.

Jut, *see Gesir*.

K

Ka = que à.

Kanque = quantque; *whatsoever*.

Kanquil = quant que ils.

Kant = quand.

Kantee, kanz, *how many, how great*.

Kele = qu'elle.

Ken = qu'en.

Kum, ke um = qu'on.

Kum = comme.

Kunkes = ke unkes.

L

Labit = le abit.

Lad = le ad.

Laidez,

Laidir, *laidier, to maltreat*.

Lainne = l'ainé.

Lalme = l'âme.

Laners, *see Lanier*.

Lange, *woollen*.

Lanier, *laners, dastard*.

Larun, *lere, robber*.

Laruncels, *thieves*.

Lasent = l'assentiment.

Le, *wide*.

Lealte = loyauté.

Leaus = loyaux.

Lee, *see Le*.

Lein = loin.

- Lei = loi.
 Leisie, *see* Leisser.
 Leisser, leesser, leisier, lesser; *cond.* lerait, lerrait; *fut.* lerrai = laisser.
 Lenquerel, *see* Enquerre.
 Leouns = lion.
 Lerait, *see* Leisser.
 Lere, *see* Larun.
 Lespes = l'épais.
 Lestre, le estra.
 Lestuet, *it must be so*; *see* Estuet.
 Lever, liever = se lever.
 Lez, beside.
 Li, *the, sg. and plur.*; del, *of the, al, to the, passim*; el (e il), *in the, lo (= cela), as (a les)*; dels (de les); els (e les).
 Lie, glad.
 Liez, glad.
 Lin, lyne = ligne.
 Liwe = lieue.
 Loer = louer.
 Lof, Eng. *luff*.
 Longes = longtemps.
 Lore, *see* Ore and Oure.
 Loter, *to allot*.
 Louwer = loyer.
 Loz = lots.
 Lumeir, lumer = lumière.
 Lyne, *see* Lin.
- M
- Maien, *of middle rank*.
 Maile, maille, *a small coin*; ni vaut maile, *is not worth a groat*.
 Mainoverer = manœuvrer.
 Maint, maynt, meint, ment, meynt, many.
- Maisnee, meine, meenye, meanee, meene, menies, band, host.
 Malbailie, malbaillie, *ruined, villain*.
 Maldiz, maldit, *curse*.
 Malengyn, *intrigue*.
 Malfe, *demon*.
 Malveis = mauvais, mal.
 Manaie, *power, right*.
 Manant, *rich, opulent*; *an inhabitant*.
 Mander, *to order, to send word to*.
 Maneir, maner, manoir; *pret.* meist; *to remain, to dwell*.
 Maneys, maneiz, *immediately*.
 Marchis, *the Mercians*.
 Marrement, *distress, compassion*.
 Marri, *vexed, distressed*.
 Mastin, *a mastiff*.
 Medi = midi.
 Mei = moi.
 Meldre = meilleur.
 Melee, *honeyed*.
 Melleie = mêlée.
 Membre, *celebrated*.
 Membru, *strong-limbed*.
 Mendre = moindre.
 Menisum, *see* Mener.
 Merir = mériter.
 Mes, more.
 Mesavenir, *to misbefall*.
 Meschyn, *a youth*.
 Mesese = malaise.
 Message, *messengers*.
 Mester, mestier, *need, service*.
 Mestre = maître.
 Mestresce = maîtresse.
 Mesuverer, mesoverer, *to do ill deeds*.
 Meule = moelle.
 Meut = muet.
 Meyndre, maner, *to abide*.

Meyte = moitié.
 Mie = mi.
 Mieldre, *see* Meldre.
 Mielz, milz = mieux.
 Miest, *see* Maneir.
 Mire, *doctor, surgeon*.
 Mirer, *to look upon, to regard*.
 Moigne = moine.
 Moz = mots.
 Muiller = mouiller.
 Murdrer = meurtrier.
 Murne = morne.
 Musceouns, *sheaths*.
 Muscier, *to hide*.
 Muster = moutier.
 Mustorum, *see* Mustrer.
 Mustrer = montrer.
 Mutun = mouton.
 Mys = mis.

N

Nafrer = navrer.
 Ne; nel = ne le; nay = n'ai; na =
 n'à; nad = n'a; nen = n'en; *so also*
 nert, nestuet, ni, nont, nunt,
 nust.
 Nefe, neife = nef, navire.
 Neir = noyer.
 Nenout, *there was not*.
 Ne-pur-quant (or kant), *none the*
less.
 Nessance = naissance.
 Neue = nue.
 Nient = néant.
 Nonain = nonnain, nonne.
 Nuaie, *hurt*.
 Nuitant, *a la nuitant; at night*
time; comp. nuitantre.
 Numement, nommément.
 Nuncer, nuncier = annoncer.

Nun = nom.
 Nupiez, *barefoot*.
 Nusches, *brooches*.
 Nute, nut = nuit.

O

O, *see* Od.
 Occire, *to kill*.
 Occisun, *slaughter*.
 Od, *with*; other forms, o, ol.
 Oels, *with them*.
 Oi, *see* Oir.
 Oilz = yeux.
 Oir, *fut. orrai, oyrai; condit. oyreis;*
p.p. oi, oy; to hear.
 Ord, *foul*.
 Ordener = ordonner.
 Ordene, *one of rank*.
 Ordier, *to besoul*.
 Ore, *see* Oure.
 Orent, *see* Aver.
 Orfanyn = orphelin.
 Orra, *see* Oir.
 Ot, *see* Aver.
 Otreer, otreier, otrier = octroyer.
 Quekes = aveo.
 Ourer, *to pray; to speak as an*
orator.
 Oure, ore, *a breeze*.
 Ouwel = égal.
 Over, *see* Ovve.
 Overer, *to work*.
 Overegne = ouvrage.
 Ovve, oeuvre, over = œuvre.
 Ovrir, overir = ouvrir.
 Oy, *see* Oir.
 Oyanz, oyance, Audience!
 Oyer, *see* Oir.
 Oyl = œil.
 Oyreient, *see* Oir.

Oyrez, *see* Oir.

Oysel = oiseau.

Oyt, *see* Oir.

P

Paisant = paysan.

Palain = palatin.

Palis, *a palisade.*

Parais = paradis.

Paraprestre, *to prepare thoroughly.*Paraprendre, *to learn thoroughly.*Pardire, *to finish speaking.*

Parei = parol.

Parfund = profondément.

Parfund, parfunt = profond.

Parfurnir, *to finish.*Parmeindre; *pret. parmist, to persist.*Paroir, *to appear.*Parveoir, *to observe closely.*

Pechie = péché.

Peindre, poindre, *se, to rush on, to hurry.*Peiser, *used impersonally; it afflicts, it wearies.*

Pel = peau.

Pelfer, pelfrer, *to pilfer.*

Penout = peinait.

Perde = perte.

Perescenz = paresseux.

Pert, *openly.*Pertros, pertrus, pertuis, *having port holes (?)*

Pes = paix.

Pesance, *distress.*

Pescherie = pêcherie.

Pessun = poisson.

Picois, *pick-axe.*Piert, *see* Paroir.Pilet, *a javelin.*Piment, pyement, *a spiced drink.*

Pius = pieux.

Piz, pis, pix, *breast.*Plaissie, plessie, *an enclosed wood.*Plait, *plea; tenir plait, to take account of.*Pleit, *see* Plait.Plente, *plenty.*Plever, plevir, *to pledge.*

Plour = pleur.

Poeir = pouvoir; puet, poeum, poez, *imp. poeit, poeient; pret. pout, porent, poerent; pres. subj. poent; condit. pureis; fut. purrum, purrez; pret. sub. puse, poust.*Poeste, *power.*Poestif, *powerful.*

Poeum = pouvons.

Poi, poy = peu.

Pointel, *a lancehead.*

Poinz = poings.

Poplier = peuplier.

Porent = purent.

Poun = peon; *a footman.*

Poun = paon.

Poure, pover, povre = pauvre.

Pours = peureux.

Powes, *paws.*Poy, *see* Poi.

Prei = proie.

Preier, *to ravage.*Preiser, *to praise, to prize.*

Prenge, prengne = preenne.

Primes, *at first.*Prive, *a close friend.*Proveire, *a priest.*

Proz, pruz = preux.

Puet, *see* Poeir.Puinal, *a stick.*

Purchacer = pourchasser.

Purpens, *a thought, a reflection.*

Purpenser, *to plan*.
 Purri = *pourri*.
 Purveance = *providence*.
 Purveoir, *to provide*.
 Put, *foul, pestilent*.
 Putel, *a slough, a pond*.
 Pyement, *see* Piment.

Q

Quaque, quant que, *whatever*.
 Quart = *quatrième*.
 Que, *as often as*.
 Queintise, *skill*.
 Queisent, *see* Querre.
 Quer = *cœur*.
 Quercur, *a seeker*.
 Querre, quere; *pres.* quiers,
 querent; *imp.* quereit; *pret.*
 quierent, queisent; *p.p.* quis,
 to seek.
 Qui, *any one*.
 Quider, *to think, to imagine*.
 Quierent, *see* Querre.
 Quiers, *see* Querre.
 Quir = *cuir*.
 Quis, *see* Querre.
 Quise = *cuisse*.
 Quor, quor = *cœur*.
 Quns = *comte*.

R

Rai, reis = *rayon*.
 Rascaile, rascayle = *racaille*.
 Realer, *to go back*; *pres.* reveit;
 pret. subj. realisum.
 Redde, *rapid*.
 Regum = *royaume*.
 Reisner = *raisonner*.
 Remist, *from* Remettre.

Remistrent, *see* Remaneir.
 Renablement, *reasonably*.
 Reneier = *renier*.
 Repaire, *repair, visitation*.
 Repairer, repayrer, repeirer, *to*
 repair, to proceed, to return.
 Repast = *repas*.
 Repost, *hidden away*.
 Repurpenser, *to think over again*.
 Requerre, requere; *pret.* requist;
 condit. requereient; *p.p.* requis,
 to seek, to ask, to require; to
 attack.
 Requey, *rest, repose*.
 Respit, *a tale*.
 Retailes, *cuttings*.
 Retourer, *to change*.
 Retraiz, *see* Retreire.
 Retreiez, *see* Retreire.
 Retreire, *to hold back, to recount*.
 Returt = *retourne*.
 Reveien = *reviens*.
 Reveit, *see* Realer.
 Rifflei, rufflei, *a thicket*.
 Rime, *hoar-frost*.
 Riote, *riot*.
 Roele = *rôle*.
 Roil = *rouille*.
 Rover, *to ask of*.
 Rovent, *red, ruddy*.
 Royner, *to shave*.
 Ruiste, *rough, sturdy*.
 Runcel, runcerei (*ronce*); *a thorny*
 covert.
 Russels = *ruisseaux*.

S

Sace, gre me sace = *qu'il me sache*
 gré.
 Sacher, *to draw, to drag*.

Saf, for Salf.

Saieter, to shoot with arrows.

Saite, seete, seite, arrow.

Salf, salfe = sauf, sauve.

Salfre = saufs.

Salme = son ame.

Salse, the salt sea.

Salvage = sauvage.

Salvagesce = sauvagerie.

Salvagine, wild fowl.

Samur = son amour.

Sanc = sang.

Saveir; *pres.* say, seivent, sevent;

imp. saveit; *pret.* sout, sorent;

pres. s. saoe; *pret. s.* seust; *p.p.*

seu.

Saver = savoir.

Sazees, plentifully stored.

Seete, see Saite.

Segre, to follow; *pres.* siut; *pret.*

siwirent.

Sei = soi.

Seins = sain.

Seintim, sentim; *superl. of* seint,
most holy.

Seisir, to put in possession.

Seite, see Saite.

Selve, wood.

Sen, sense, intelligence; appearance.

Sene = sénat.

Sene, senee, sensible.

Senestre, left-hand.

Serement = serment.

Seriant = sergent.

Serin, seriz = serein.

Serventeis, a rimed poem, usually
satirical.

Sesmut (s'émüt); put himself in
motion.

Set = sept.

Seu, see Saveir.

Seyn, a bell.

Seysant, cessant, soixante.

Sez = assex.

Sicum, so as.

Sigle, sail.

Sigler, to sail.

Sisme = sixième.

Siut, see Segre.

Siwirent, see Segre.

Soens = siens.

Soil = seuil.

Soldeier = soudoyer.

Solier, soulier, souloir, to be accus-
tomed.

Solum, sulum = selon.

Somundre, to summon, to order.

Sonout = sonnait.

Sorent, see Saveir.

Sot, sote, foolish, mad.

Soucher, sucher, to surmise.

Soul = seulement.

Sourdre, surdre, *pres.* surt; *imp.*
surdeit; *pret.* surst; *fut.* sur-
derunt; *pres. sub.* surde; *pret.*
sub. suraissent; *p.p.* surs; to
rise.

Sovenerement, frequently.

Sucha, see Soucher.

Suduiant, sudduiant, deceive, se-
ducer.

Sueif = suave.

Suens, see Soens.

Suffoer, to dig down.

Suffreituses, see Sufreytus.

Sufreite, want, default.

Sufreytus = souffreteux.

Sumer, a beast of burden.

Supprendre, to take, to admit.

Surfeit, outrage, crime.

Surveir, to overlook (as a wizard
does).

Susum, *see* Estre.
Sutif, soutif, sutive, *secret*.

T

Talant, a talant, *according to one's desire*.
Tart = tard.
Teche, *quality*.
Tendrir = tendresse.
Tenir, *pres.* teint, tenum; *pret.* tint - tynt, tindrent - tyndrent; *pres. s.* teinge, tiengez; *pret. s.* tenisent.
Terel, a *plot of ground*.
Teriene = terrestre.
Terst, *pret.* of terdre, to wipe.
Tey = toi.
Tiengez, *see* Tenir.
Tirce = tiers.
Toldre, tollir, to take away.
Tor = taureau.
Trai = trahit.
Traist, *see* Treier.
Tramette, tramist, tramistrent, tramys = transmette, transmit etc.
Trea, *see* Treier.
Tref, trief, a *kind of sail*.
Treier, *pres.* troy; *pret.* trea, treist - traist, treistrent - traistrent; *ful.* terrra; *pret. sub.* treisist; *p.p.* treite; to draw.
Tremuz, *p.p.* of tremir, to dread.
Trestuit, trestut, trestuz, quite all.
Treu, tribute.
Trief, *see* Tref.
Tries, behind.
Triesine = trahison.
Tristur = tristesse.

Truncuner = tronçonner.
Trusser = trousse.
Tuit = tous.
Tumbel = tombeau.
Tup, tupet = toupet.

U

Ultrage = outrage.
Unc, unkes, ever, never.
Unt, *see* Aver.
Unt, whence? after which?
Ura, *see* Aler.
Ure, *see* Ourer.
Urner = orner.
Us, usage, business.
Usser = huisier.
Ustil = outil.
Uthlage, outlaw.
Uyt = huit.

V

Valt = vaut.
Vavasur, a *same tenant*.
Veant = voyant.
Vedue = veuve.
Veillanz = veillans.
Veindre = vaincre.
Verais = vrai.
Vergeant, one who uses rods.
Vergoine, vergoyne, verguyne, shame.
Vergunder, to put to shame.
Verseiler, to sing by verses.
Vescent, vescunt, vescunte, vesquens = vicomte.
Vesqui, vesquit = vécut.
Vet, sen vet = s'en va.
Vezie, vezier, villainous, fiery, war-like.

Vilanaile, *the populace.*

Vinch = vins.

Vis, *face.*

Voel, *wish.*

Voil, voile, *see Voleir.*

Voise, *ways, roads.*

Voldrai, *see Voleir.*

Voleir; *pres.* voil-voile, vols, volt,

volent-voilent; *imp.* volient;

pret. vount; *fut.* voldrai; *condit.*

volereit; *pret. sub.* volsissent;

imper. voyle = vouloir.

Vunt = vont.

Vys, *see Vis.*

W

Wacrer, *to drift.*

Waymenter, *to lament, to wail.*

Welcomer, *English word.*

Y

Yver = hiver.

GLOSSARY TO JOHN LYDGATE

A

Abraide, abrayde, *burst into speech, start up.*
 Aggregge, *emphasise.*
 Agrysinh, *is disgusted.*
 Alder, *of all.*
 Amatist, *amethyst.*
 Amortyse, *alienate in mortmain.*
 Antephne, *antiphon.*
 Arette, *impute.*
 Arte, *constrain.*
 Attall, *at all.*
 Attones, attonys, attoonys, *at once.*
 Auouh, a-vowh, avowh, *vow.*
 Auysion, *vision.*
 Awteer, *altar.*

B

Bamaner, *by manner.*
 Baserpent, *by serpent.*
 Bataillid, *arrayed for battle.*
 Bateprance, *by temperance.*
 Bauns, *by advice, in pursuance.*
 Bealoncle, *fair uncle.*
 Beheste, *promise.*
 Behestith, *promiseth.*
 Beseyn, *beseen, equipped.*
 Biggere, *buyer.*
 Blyue, *quick.*
 Boistous, *boisterous.*
 Bolne, *swollen.*

Bools, *Bulls.*
 Boot, *boat.*
 Breede of, *as broad as.*

C

Cachepoll, *bailiff.*
 Careyn, *dead body.*
 Cely, *blessed, innocent.*
 Chapitle, *chapter.*
 Chekmaat, *checkmate, overcome.*
 Cheuysance, *remedy, trading.*
 Cheyne, *chain.*
 Chier, *demeanour.*
 Chiere, *cheer.*
 Chyne, *chine, backbone.*
 Coarten, *tighten.*
 Corage, *heart.*
 Corseynt, *saint.*
 Coryouste, *curiosity.*
 Couth, *known.*
 Cowardise, *treachery.*
 Craumpyashed, *gnawed.*
 Cressantis, *crenents.*
 Crompyd, *bent.*
 Cubyculer, *chamberlain.*

D

Dempt, *dempte, judged.*
 Deuer, *duty.*
 Discure, *discover.*

Disparpiled, *scattered*.
Dool, *grief*.

E

Encloied, *hindered*.
Eurous, *ewrous, lucky*.

F

Fardell, *bundle*.
Ferde, *behaved*.
Fertre, *feretory, shrine*.
Fery, *fiery*.
Feryetyng, *forgetting*.
Fleocheer, *arrow-maker*.
Fleashlyheede, *carnality*.
Floom, *river*.
Foriuged, *sentenced*.
Forpossid, *buffeted*.
Forthere, *forthre, forthren, help, supply*.
Fyleed, *pointed*.
Fyne, *die*.

G

Glace, *slide*.
Glod, *glided*.
Gowlys, *gules, red*.
Grownseel, *threshold*.
Grucche, *gruchch, complain*.
Gruff, *prone*.
Guye, *steer*.
Gynnyng, *beginning, origin*.

H

Haberyowned, *habergeoned, clad in armour*.
Habounde, *abounding, wealthy*.
Hals, *neck*.

Harre, *hinge*.
Hastow, *hast thou*.
Hent, *took*.
Herbergage, *lodging, shelter*.
Heste, *command*.
Hesterne, *Easter*.
Hosteie, *make war*.

I

I-fiere, *together*.
I-keied, *locked*.
Ilk, *like*.
Infeer, *together*.
I-sacrid, *consecrated*.

J

Juparte, *iupartie, jupartye, jeopardy*.

K

Kouth, *known*.

L

Leemys, *rays of light*.
Leer, *learn*.
Legarie, *embassy*.
Leiser, *leisure*.
Lere, *teach, direct*.
Lette, *hinder*.
Loodmannage, *loodmanage, pilotage*.
Losengrye, *idleness*.

M

Maugre, *mawgre, in spite of*.
Medlyd, *mingled*.

Mescheue, *come to grief.*

Meyne, *company.*

Meynt, *regarded (?) , mingled.*

Moren, *increase.*

N

Neyhen, *approach.*

Not, *know not.*

Nowche, ouch, *jewel in setting.*

O

O, on, oo, *one.*

Odible, *hateful.*

Outraied, *outrage, overcome.*

Owher, *anywhere.*

P

Parde, *truly (par Dieu).*

Parteden, *went away.*

Pauys, *pavis, a large shield.*

Peised, *pondered, hung.*

Peisen, *ponder.*

Perre, *jewels.*

Pesible, *peaceful.*

Piht, *pitched.*

Pileer, *pillar.*

Pilour, pylour, *robber.*

Platly, *flatly.*

Poopis, *Pope's.*

Preef, *proof, attack.*

Pykoys, *pickaxe.*

Q

Quekid, *quickened.*

Queme, *please.*

Queynt, *quenched.*

Quyke, qwyke, *quicken.*

R

Rachchis, *hounds.*

Rakel, *hasty, rash.*

Rauhte, *snatched.*

Recure, *recover.*

Reemys, *realms.*

Refut, *refuge.*

Renon, *renown.*

Rewe, *have pity.*

Rewm, *realm.*

Routhe, *pity.*

Rowne, *whisper.*

S

Sarseynes, *Saracens, pagans.*

Sawteer, *psalter.*

Seelde, *seldom.*

Sekirnesse, *security.*

Sewe, *follow.*

Seyn, *say.*

Sheltrouns, *troops.*

Shoures, *conflicts.*

Soget, *subject.*

Somdel, *somewhat.*

Sond, *sound, channel.*

Sonde, *message.*

Sondy, *sandy.*

Soudiours, *soldiers.*

Speer, *sphere.*

Squared, *adjusted, fixed true.*

Sterre, sterrys, *star, stars.*

Sterve, *die.*

Surquedie, *arrogance.*

Surquedous, *arrogant.*

Sustre, *sisters.*

T

Tacouert, talitil, taplye, tapostasie,
etc., *to a covert, to a little, to apply,*
to apostasy, etc.

Tarage, *lineage, species (?)*.
 Tawmente, *to augment*.
 Teene, *anger, anxiety*.
 Tenbeliashe, *to embellish*.
 Tencrece, *tencrease, to increase*.
 Tenduren, *to endure*.
 Tenhaunce, *to enhance*.
 Tenlumyne, *to enlumine*.
 Tenquere, *to inquire*.
 Thabood, *the abiding*.
 Thewes, *manners, qualities*.
 Tho, *those, then*.
 Thoruh, *through*.
 Thwaytyng, *the waiting*.
 To-forn, *before*.
 Topne, *to open*.
 Trist, *sad*.
 Triste, *trust*.
 Truage, *tribute*.
 Tryst, *sad*.
 Twynne, *separate*.

V

Vegetatyff, *plant-like*.
 Vnnethe, *scarcely*.

Vnwar, *sudden*.
 Vnwarly, *suddenly*.

W

Waker, *wakeful*.
 Wayn, *wain, car*.
 Werreie, *make war on*.
 Wher, *where, whether*.
 Wikke, *wicked*.
 Wood, *mad*.
 Wykke, *evil*.

Y

Yald, *yielded*.
 Yerde, *rod*.
 Yeuyng, *giving*.
 Yiue, *give*.
 Ylyche, *alike*.
 Ynde, *indigo blue*.
 Yoie, *joy*.
 Youe, *given*.
 Ypershid, *pierced*.
 Yrchoun, *urchin, hedgehog*.
 Yre, *wrath*.

GLOSSARY TO 'THE ROMANCE OF KING
ATHELSTONE'

A

Abood, *waited for*.
 Also, *as*.
 Arende, *errand*.
 Asoyle, asoylyd, *absolve, -d*.
 Awtere, *altar*.
 Ayr, *heir*.
 Ayse, *ease*.

B

Badde, *tarrying*.
 Bade, *learnt by asking*.
 Bale, *mischief*.
 Bande, *prison*.
 Baret, *confusion*.
 Be leff, *slantwise*.
 Besauntys, *bezants, gold coins*.
 Be-tauzte, *guve*.
 Bod, *waited*.
 Bone, *boon*.
 Bore, *unequipped*.
 Borowe, borwe, *go bail for, deliver, borrow*.
 Brere, *briar*.
 Brouke, *enjoy, keep possession of*.

C

Ches, *took*.
 Chyryes, *cherries*.

Covere, *recover, deliver*.
 Covre, *rise to eminence*.
 Cowde, *could, knew*.

D

Dede, *death*.
 Deme, *judge*.
 Dome, doome, *judgment*.
 Dool, *grief*.
 Dynt, *blow*.
 Dyzt, *prepared*.

E

Eemes, *uncle's*.
 Efft, *afterwards*.
 Entyrdytyd, *interdicted*.

F

Fande, *accomplish*.
 Far, fare, *go*.
 Ferde, *behaved*.
 Fere, *v. In fiere*.
 Fette, fetten, *fetch*.
 Fonge, *take*.
 Foode, *child*.
 For wondryd, *astonished*.
 For zelde, *reward*.
 Founde, *try*.

Frayne (*for fayne?*), *glad*.
Fraynyd, *asked*.

G

Gange, *go*.
Gare, garte, *cause, -d*.
Gate, *way*.
Gerlondes, *garlands*.
Glede, *burning coal*.
Gras, *favours, grace*.
Gonne, *began*.
Gynne, *contrivance*.

H

Harewede, harewyd, *harrowed*.
Hedyr, *hither*.
Hende, *gracious*.
Hent, *seized*.
Hete, *promise*.
Heyze, *high*.
Hoten, *named*.
Houen, *lifted*.
Hyz, hyze, *high*.
Hyze, *hie, hasten*.
Hyzt, *named, promise*.

I

I-nowz, *enough*.
In fiere, *together*.
In same, *together*.

K

Kevre, *recover, rescue*.
Knave, *boy*.
Krekys (*for kerkys?*), *churches*.
Kyns, *kind of*.

L

Layne, *conceal*.
Lede, *carry*.
Lende, *abide*.
Lene, *lend, grant*.
Lere, *direct*.
Les, *lesyng, lie*.
Levande, *living*.
Lowz, *laughed*.
Lyche, *like*.
Lynde, *lime-tree*.
Lyng, *linger, tarry*.
Lyte, *little*.

M

Manres, *manors*.
Mekyl, *much*.
Menyng, *lamenting*.
Mon, *plaint, request*.
Moot, *may, mayest*.
Moutwe, *mouth*.
Mowe, *may*.
Mykyl, *great*.

N

Neyzyd, *approached*.
None, *noon*.
Nouer, *never (?) in no way (?), not yet (?)*.
Nykkyd, *denied*.

O

Often sythe, *ofttimes*.
On rawe, *in a row*.
Or, *before*.
Os, *as*.
Othys, *oaths*.

P

Paynys, *pains*.
 Playne, *full*.
 Preste, *ready*.
 Prime, *about 6 a.m.*

Q

Qweer, *choir*.

R

Radde, *directed*.
 Rauzte, *held*.
 Rawe, *v. On rawe*.
 Rede, *counsel*.
 Refft, *robbed*.
 Reves, *robbest*.
 Rode, *rood*.

S

Sale, *hall*.
 Schent, *condemned*.
 Schole, *shall*.
 Schon, *shun*.
 Schowrys, *pains*.
 Schryfte, *confession*.
 Sente, *assent*.
 Sese, *convey*.
 Seththyn, *afterwards*.
 Slawe, *slain*.
 Slon, sloo, *slay*.
 Slowz, *slew*.
 Sorrere, *more sorely*.
 Sothe, *truth*.
 Stede, *place*.
 Stoken, *barred*.
 Stounde, *moment*.
 Swych, swylke, *such*.

Swynke, *toil*.
 Swythe, *quickly*.
 Sybbe, *related by blood*.
 Sythe, sythis, *times*.

T

Tan, *taken*.
 Thare, *behoves*.
 The, *thrive, prosper*.
 Tho, thoo, *then*,
 To drawe, *drawn*.
 To ffore, *before*.
 Tyde, *time*.
 Tyl, *to*.

U

Unblyve, *reluctant*.
 Undern, *terce, about 9 A.M.*

W

Wan, *possessions*.
 Wane, *abode*.
 War, *aware, on the watch*.
 Warysdom, warysoun, *endowment, gift, reward*.
 Wate, *know*.
 Weddyd, *pledged, sworn*.
 Wede, *clothing*.
 Wende, *go, supposed*.
 Wene, *fancy*.
 Wete, *weten, know*.
 Wetyng, *knowledge*.
 Wodere, *madder*.
 Wonde, *hesitate*.
 Wone, *abode, dwelling-place; linger*.
 Wood, *mad*.
 Wyke, *town*.

Wyn, *come*.
 Wyase, *instruct*.
 Wyte, *cause, reason*.
 Wythyrlye, *truly*.
 Wyzt, *speedy*.
 Wyztly, *quickly*.

Y

Yeve, *gift*; more yeve, *dowry*.

Ylkan, ylke, ylkon, *every one, every*.

Z

Zar, zare, *ready*.
 Zede, *went*.
 Zelde, *v. For zelde*.
 Zelle, *yell*.
 Zerde, *rod*.
 Zode, *went*.

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